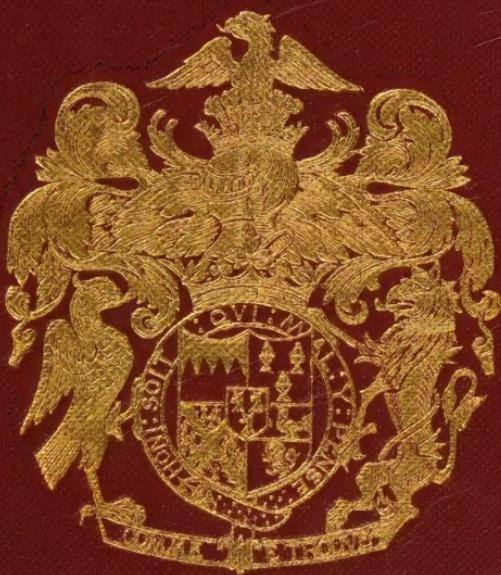


THE LIFE OF JAMES  
FIRST DUKE OF ORMONDE



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THE LIFE OF JAMES  
FIRST DUKE OF ORMONDE







James 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of Ormonde  
*from a picture in the possession of Earl Bathurst*

# THE LIFE OF JAMES FIRST DUKE OF ORMONDE

1610-1688

BY LADY BURGHCLERE

AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE OF THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM"

WITH PORTRAITS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

*Sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis  
principibus magnos viros esse.*—TAC. AGRICOLA, Cap. 42.

LONDON  
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET, W.

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# LIFE OF THE DUKE OF ORMONDE

## CHAPTER I

### THE RESTORATION SETTLEMENT

WITH the King's restoration, Ormonde, who had hitherto only shared his master's misfortunes, appeared to enter on an era of unprecedented prosperity. On his return to England, the Marquis was immediately appointed Lord-Steward and sworn a member of the Privy Council. Shortly afterwards, he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Somersetshire, High Steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol, and reinstated in the Chancellorship of the University and College of Dublin. In July, he was created Earl of Brecknock and Baron of Llanthony in the peerage of England. Last, and perhaps not least, among the King's tokens of esteem must be mentioned the gift of a magnificent service of gold plate, emblazoned with the Arms of England and Butler, which by a strange fate now reposes in the Schatzkammer of the House of Cumberland.<sup>1</sup>

Charles's rewards were not merely of a complimentary nature. Until they were unjustly seized by James I., the palatinate rights and regalities of Tipperary had been vested for centuries in Ormonde's ancestors. These rights were immensely remunerative, and Charles lost no time in conferring them anew on the Marquis. In its turn, Parliament was not slow to follow the Monarch's example.

<sup>1</sup> On the attainder of the 2nd Duke of Ormonde this princely gift was appropriated by George I. and remained at Windsor until the accession of Queen Victoria. In the ensuing partition of heirlooms it was sent to Hanover. But after the war of 1866 it migrated once more, and now the gold dishes with the motto "Butler aboo" are in the possession of the Duke of Cumberland.

The consideration of Ormonde's "extraordinary merits and sufferings made them interpose on his behalf."<sup>1</sup> The general resettlement of landed property in Ireland was an undertaking that did not admit of haste. But by a special act, Ormonde was, forthwith, put in possession of his estates.

Thus, when in the June of that eventful year, Elizabeth Ormonde rejoined her lord in London, everything appeared to smile on that much-tried pair. Lady Ormonde had not awaited their reunion, however, to furnish Ormonde with the information and advice of which, after so long an absence, she conceived that he must stand in need. She had already transmitted a "paper of remembrances" which was characteristic alike of her shrewdness and right feeling. Lady Ormonde had probably some reason to dread the results of her husband's "easiness." She therefore instructed the bearer of the document to desire Ormonde

"to bee as sparinge as possiblie hee cane in grantinge of suites, officees and imployments to anye particuler Persons at the first, untill he bee fullie and Rightlie possest how farr they have sarvede, or is Capabell to sarve the interest now Established: or to M.E. or such of his relations untill my comminge over, for it is apprehended that hee will be very cravinge."<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps, Lady Ormonde was the more urgent on this point since she was aware that her own record was not altogether blameless with regard to "cravinge" suitors. Indeed, fearing that her civil speeches might be used to embarrass Ormonde, she had devised an expedient to guard him from any ill consequences. "Such recommendations," she wrote, "as come from mee in the behalfe of Persons, done rather out of compliance then respect, shall be subscribed with the leavinge out of the letter E. at the end of the word Ormond." Yet, even this ingenious precaution did not entirely reassure her, for, after interdicting a match between "E. C."—probably her

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, MSS., vol. cxxiv. f. 221. Lady Ormonde to Ormonde.



SILVER-GILT FOUNTAIN PRESENTED BY CHARLES II.  
TO THE DUKE OF ORMONDE.

[To face p. 2 (vol. ii.).]



daughter Elizabeth—and “B,” she returns to the charge, remarking

“that it has bine with great unwillingness the many letters of recommendation I have sent him (Ormonde) though they could not be well chenged, nor can yet as affaires now stand, soe as you,” she tells her intermediary, “are to make my excuse for it.” It was the opinion, she continued, of “other friends more judging than myselfe that hee should be generalie plausible to all, and admit of the application of such as has relatione unto this countrye. Yet soe as to keepe himselfe free from promises and engadgements unto Perticular Persons, as may bee, untill hee doe reseve an impartiall accompt of Everye ons cariage, and intrest, whereby the King and himselfe may the beter know how to plase favours and rewards where they are most desarvedlie dew, which I shall make it my busenes to procure; by the healpe of some that knowes beter than I doe, and by my owne perticuler observation.”

Lady Ormonde had discharged her conscience. The more agreeable portion of her task lay before her. She was delighted to testify that Sir Paul Davys, Clerk of the Council, was both honest and “tractabell.” She hoped that Ormonde would make “a returne of kindness unto my lord of Broghill in what application hee shall make to him,” while with regard to Cor Hill, that notable Puritan, Sir John Clotworthy, and the “rest of the gange,” she begged that Ormonde would receive them kindly since “they can be made use of.” So far, Mr Worldly-Wiseman would not have spoken otherwise. Nevertheless, Lady Ormonde did not belong to the class—a large one apparently at that stage of the world’s history—who believed that material favours only were of value. It is pleasing to find a reminder that Ormonde should write “to his Mothar, and to such other of his relations as hee thinks fitt, and, in perticuler, unto the olde Doctor, as a most affectionat and faithfull Person to him and all his.”

Lord Ossory was not the only one of Ormonde’s sons in London that summer. It was in the capital that all

the brothers and sisters met again after a separation of eight years. Lady Mary, Lady Elizabeth, and the Benjamin of the family, Lord John, were almost unknown to their father; while it was four years since Lady Ormonde had set eyes on Ossory or Lord Richard. With her exiled husband and sons was also coming the new daughter-in-law, the much dreaded "stranger," and Elizabeth Ormonde was determined that their separate spheres of action should be clearly defined. Ormonde was informed that he must

"order the way of his Eldest sone's livinge by himselfe, by reason," says his prudent spouse, "I am alltogether unprovided ethar of house or furniture fitt for their reseptione. Nethar will I adventure upon it on anye Termes that they should live with mee, fearinge they might not like of it, which my experianse in the worlde has given mee more resone to feare than expect the contrary, though I am abundantly satisfied of the Lady's worth and discretione, soe I am noe les of his good nature and obedianse, yet the trouble of havinge a Nothar familie in my House is, commynge from a retyred Life, a troubill I cannot undertake but will bee willinge to healpe, and assist them by my advise wherein it shall bee sought and bee as kind to hir as to hime, shee being a Person Not like to deserue othar from mee."

In conclusion, Elizabeth Ormonde prefers her single personal request, one which surely will awaken a chord of sympathy in every housewife's heart. She begs my lord "to lay his commands upon John Sayres, the King's Cooke, to provide a good one for mee."

While Ormonde's wife was thus engaged in providing for the peace and comfort of her own family, the Marquis and Ossory were more concerned with the affairs of another illustrious household. Ossory, the friend of all the world, was on the best terms with the Duke of York, in spite of the fact that he had lately been abetting the escape of the regicide Ludlow from England.<sup>1</sup> When the Duke required a witness for his secret marriage with Anne Hyde, he could think of no one more trustworthy

<sup>1</sup> "Ludlow Memoirs," vol. ii. p. 296.

for the purpose than Thomas Butler. To Ormonde, on the other hand, fell the duty of helping to repair the domestic mischief which his son had helped to make.

On learning of James's marriage, the King sent Lord Southampton and Ormonde, "who he well knew were his bosom friends," to break the news to Hyde. Ormonde was spokesman; and, acting on the maxim that brevity is sometimes no less the soul of kindness than of wit, he used no circumlocutions. He told his old comrade that "he had a matter to inform him of that he doubted would give him much trouble, and therefore advised him to compose himself to bear it." Ormonde, himself, would doubtless have admitted that such advice is more easy to give than to follow.<sup>1</sup> Yet, although he was prepared for an outburst of sorrow and indignation on the part of his hearer, he can scarcely have anticipated the painful scene that ensued. Anger seems, indeed, to have turned the Chancellor's brain, and his utterances would strike the modern generation as unnatural if they were not rather grotesque. Even in the year of grace 1660, it cannot be said that his wild words found favour with his audience. When Hyde vowed that he would have preferred to see his daughter the Duke's mistress, rather than the Duke's wife, and advocated the despatch of the erring damsel, first, to the Tower and then to the block, Southampton told him plainly that "he was mad," and Charles "shewed by his countenance that he was not pleased with his advice." Clarendon does not tell us whether in the troublous time that followed he sought support and comfort in Ormonde's friendship; but he confesses that when he discovered who had been the witnesses at the clandestine wedding, and that they were ready to avow it, though "it pleased him not, it diverted him from using some of that rigour he intended."<sup>2</sup>

If, however, her own father proved less unrelenting than

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon," by himself, ed. 1857, vol. i. p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 327.

he had announced himself, Anne Hyde met with scant mercy in other quarters. The Queen Mother and the Princess Royal were not her worst enemies, bitterly as they opposed the match. The machinations of a vile favourite led James to doubt his wife's virtue, and the paternity of his child. At this crisis, Lady Ormonde proved a true friend to Anne Hyde. The Marchioness was amongst the ladies who witnessed the birth of the infant. Like all the other persons present, she was "abundantly satisfied" of the mother's innocence, and she "took an opportunity to declare it fully to the Duke himself, and perceived in him such a kind of tenderness that persuaded her he did not believe anything amiss."<sup>1</sup>

When Anne's good name was at last triumphantly vindicated, and she was recognised as the prince's consort, Elizabeth Ormonde, great lady though she was, yet was the first to kneel down and kiss the Duchess's hand.<sup>2</sup> On her side, Anne took the earliest opportunity of showing her gratitude to the friend who had stood by her in adversity. Henrietta Maria was the godmother of the Duchess's child, and, at the christening, Lady Ormonde acted as proxy for the Queen, and held the babe, who, at that time, was the heir to three kingdoms.

Lord and Lady Ormonde were interested at this time in other matrimonial affairs, more nearly affecting their own household than the Duke of York's. Various alliances had been already suggested for their eldest daughter Elizabeth ; but in 1660 she was married to Philip Stanhope, 2nd Earl of Chesterfield. From all the accounts we possess of Lady Elizabeth, Lord Chesterfield should have considered himself a lucky man. She was, says Count Anthony Hamilton, in a well-known passage,

"one of the most agreeable women in the world ; she had a most exquisite shape, though she was not very tall. She was fair, with all the glow and whiteness of a blonde, and all the animation and piquancy of a brunette. She

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon," by himself, ed. 1857, vol. i. p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> "F. O. Transcripts, Biblio-Nationale," No. 324, p. 1. Bartet to Cardinal Mazarin, 12th January 1661.

had large blue eyes, which were very alluring; her manners were engaging, her wit lively and amusing."<sup>1</sup>

It is true that Hamilton adds that the "lady's heart, ever open to tender sentiments, was neither scrupulous in point of constancy, nor nice in point of sincerity."

When he wrote, however, it must be remembered that Elizabeth had gone through experiences from which only a strong character can emerge unscathed. Had her husband been a different man, the bride's history might have furnished less material for mirth to Gramont and his readers. Given circumstances moderately propitious, Lady Ormonde's daughter, reared in a household, where purity and honour were of the very air she breathed, must, surely, have shown herself more worthy of that mother's teaching. But, unfortunately, with all his qualities, Lord Chesterfield lacked the one requisite for making a wife happy. When he married Elizabeth he was madly in love with another woman, and that woman was Barbara Villiers, Lady Castlemaine.

Until the King's infatuation for Barbara became manifest, the pair had made no secret of their relations, but the "hatred" the Monarch exhibited for his predecessor in the lady's good graces, warned that politic person that he must sever his connection with Barbara. He did not hesitate. He wrote to Lady Castlemaine, saying that the announcement of her new lover made him "doubt of everything." Yet he was not captious. He merely begged the gift of her picture,

"for then I shall love something that is like you, and yet unchangeable, and though it will have no great return of kindness, yet I am sure it will love nobody else better than your humble servant."<sup>2</sup>

Humble acquiescence in the privileges of Barbara's sex would not, however, have sufficed to dispel Charles's suspicions. This could only be effected by matrimony, and Elizabeth Butler appeared a fitting peace-offering. It

<sup>1</sup> "Memoirs of Comte de Gramont," ed. 1889 (Vizetelly), vol. i. p. 187.

<sup>2</sup> "Letters of Philip Stanhope, 2nd Earl of Chesterfield," p. 112. Lord Chesterfield to Mrs Palmer, since Duchess of Cleveland, 1660.

must be premised that the bridegroom was an unimpeachable match. Lord Chesterfield came of a race as loyal as the Butlers. He had, moreover, an ample portion of this world's goods. Instead of the old Stanhope fortalice, which Cromwell's cannon had levelled to the ground, a new house had arisen in Derbyshire, all gables and windows, set amidst formal gardens and fishponds that, in modern parlance, made of Bretby Hall one of the "show places" of that county. To the lively intelligence with which Nature had endowed Lord Chesterfield, a long period of foreign travel, particularly in Italy, had given a polish and versatility not to be found in the home-keeping youth of his generation. His letters would not have disgraced a minor prophet of the Hôtel Rambouillet. Even Anthony Hamilton, who did not love him, admits that the earl was "not deficient in wit," allowing him further a "very agreeable face and a fine head of hair," though in his opinion these merits were marred by "an indifferent shape and a worse air."<sup>1</sup>

Chesterfield bore the reputation of having been devotedly attached to his first wife, Lady Anne Percy, whose loss he had sincerely mourned. When therefore he asked for Lady Elizabeth Butler's hand, and "pressed the match with as much ardour as if he had been passionately in love," there was nothing in his antecedents or character to furnish Ormonde with a valid reason for declining his suit. Nor was it until they were man and wife that the Earl's true sentiments transpired. He treated his young bride

"with such coldness as to leave her no room to doubt of his indifference. She was shrewd and sensitive as regards contempt; at first, she was much affected by her husband's behaviour, and afterwards enraged at it; then when he began to show her that he loved her, she had the pleasure of showing him that she no longer cared for him."

Marriage and giving in marriage were not, however,

<sup>1</sup> "Memoirs of Comte de Gramont," vol. i. p. 206.

the main concern of these early days of Ormonde's return to England. The fortunes of the distressful country filled the foreground of his thoughts and interests.

Ireland had anticipated Great Britain in her reversion to monarchical sentiments. In the spring of 1659, Henry Cromwell had been on the point of declaring for the King, but at the crucial moment, when Ludlow and the Parliamentary Commissioners arrived in the Island, he offered no resistance and made over his powers to them. On the dissolution of the Rump, the Commissioners transferred their allegiance to Lambert and his party, and took that opportunity to cashier some two hundred officers of whose loyalty they were not assured. This step brought about their downfall. The discontented throughout the country, strong in their new leaders, united for the overthrow of the administration, and on the 31st of December 1659 they succeeded in capturing Dublin Castle. To justify their action they published a declaration for Parliament, and before the week was over they had secured the adhesion of all the principal garrisons.

The most important personages in Ireland at this juncture were, undoubtedly, the Presidents of Connaught and Munster, Sir Charles Coote, and Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill. Neither had cause to love the Parliamentary Commissioners, and it was they who now assumed the direction of the rudderless ship of State. The two protagonists of this latest revolution had little in common. Sir Charles Coote's name has frequently appeared in the course of this narrative, and always in connection with deeds of violence and brutality. Clarendon sums him up as "proud, dull, and very avaricious."<sup>1</sup> Roger Boyle was of another mould and mettle. He was a capable man of business, as befitted the son of that industrious adventurer, the great Earl of Cork. But he was also a man of letters. No form of composition came amiss to him ; he turned out romances and political pamphlets, poems and tracts on the art of war with the same ease as his father had made money.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Clarendon," vol. i. p. 487.

<sup>2</sup> "Dictionary of National Biography," Article Roger Boyle.

Conscious, and half ashamed, of his own facility, he excused himself on the singular plea that writing diverted his mind from the pangs of the gout—an excuse, which brought the not undeserved comment from Horace Walpole that "the gout is an impotent muse." If "Parthenissa" cannot, however, command a modern audience the fault scarcely lies with the author's intelligence. In matters financial and administrative, Roger Boyle had approved himself worthy of Oliver Cromwell's confidence. Indeed, it is one of the unsolved riddles of history that a man, vastly the intellectual superior of the majority of his rivals, should have left no more enduring mark. If he had lived at any other period it would be less inexplicable. But under the second Charles, want of "character," that steadfastness and honour which beget steadfastness and honour, were, apparently, not essential to the achievement of power. The careers of Bennet and Danby witness to the fact. That they should have succeeded, where Broghill failed, must remain a mystery.

Dissimilar as were the two Presidents, they were equally ambitious of contributing to the King's restoration—an event they recognised to be inevitable. Some faint opposition was offered to their schemes by Sir Hardress Waller, the Parliamentary Commander of Dublin Castle, but he was quickly mastered by Coote. The Convention of Estates that met in Dublin in February 1660 proved docile to royalist suggestions, proclaiming its independence of England and declaring for a free Parliament at Westminster. Soon the King's return was no longer a debateable question. The terms on which it should be effected alone gave rise to discussion, the King's freedom to confirm or alter the Land Settlement remaining the single matter of dispute.

Both Coote and Broghill were vitally interested in the decision to be taken. Coote had benefited largely by the victory of Puritanism. Broghill had risen to affluence by his connection with Cromwell, receiving Blarney Castle and £1,000 a year in return for his services, though having fought in his youth on the royalist side, it was perhaps less of an effort for Broghill than for Coote to throw in

his lot with the Cavaliers. The decisive move was, however, initiated by Sir Charles. Roger Boyle suffered from the unusual drawback of thinking the rest of mankind as clever as himself. He could not believe that so momentous a revolution could be achieved without an amount of finessing, which, from the delays it caused, might have defeated its object. In this crisis, Coote's coarser nature proved a more effective instrument. Realising, probably, the danger of resisting the trend of public opinion, he yielded to its pressure. His messenger sought out Charles at Brussels with tenders of duty. This example was instantly followed by Broghill, and henceforward the two men vied with each other not only to bring back the King, but to bring him back unfettered by conditions. They succeeded. The tide was with them. If Monk had not meanwhile declared for monarchy, Charles would have inaugurated his reign in Ireland.

Coote lost nothing by his want of bargaining. Nor can Charles be blamed for seeking to propitiate the man who possessed the greatest ascendancy over Scottish and English settlers in Ireland. Yet it was an evil hour for the country when the King received back his crown at the hands of the Raven's son.

"Whatever," wrote Charles to Coote, "you shall promise and undertake in my name and on my behalf, that is in my power to perform for the encouragement and reward of those that shall join with you in my service, I do give you and them my word to make good . . . . I will not enlarge," the Sovereign proceeded, "concerning yourself; the great service you can do me, the great confidence I have in you, and your great merit towards your country as well as towards me will all secure you that I will do what becomes towards the gratifying and obliging such a servant."<sup>1</sup>

It is scarcely an exaggeration to describe this letter as Charles's ratification of the Cromwellian Land Settlement.

The King's restoration was marked by absolute tranquillity throughout Ireland. On May the 14th, 1660, he was

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 7. King Charles II. to Coote, 6th March 1660.

proclaimed at Dublin with every sign of joy, and the Convention straightway hastened to vote a large gift of money for him and his brethren. After this effort to ingratiate itself with the Sovereign, the Assembly turned its attention to its own particular business.

The Convention was almost exclusively Protestant, and although the members had not stood out for conditions with the Monarch, they were none the less resolved to secure his assent to the recent Land Settlement. With this object, at the end of May, they deputed Coote and Broghill to lay their wishes before the King. They had lost no time in the matter. Yet, early as they were in the field, this was not their first attempt to retain the racial and religious predominance which might well be threatened by the new régime. Haunted by the fear that the Act of Oblivion and Amnesty,<sup>1</sup> which the British Parliament was drawing up to present to Charles on his landing, might be framed to include Irish Roman Catholics, they had already despatched Commissioners to prevent such a miscarriage of their own interests. Whatever changes had overtaken the English Parliament, it had not lost its fear and hatred of Irish Papists. A clause was accordingly inserted in the bill excluding all persons from its benefits "who had any hand in the plotting, contriving, or designing the heinous rebellion in Ireland, or in aiding, assisting, or abetting the same." Moreover, an amendment was very nearly passed which would have barred the way to the restoration of the most deserving amongst the Catholic proprietors. Happily, a few sober-minded lawyers combined to delay this monstrous clause, until Ormonde, who was still abroad, could be consulted ; and, on his arrival in England, he succeeded in arresting a piece of legislation which would have ruined the greater number of the old Anglo-Irish families. In the intense relief of the moment, the Irish, "in general, confessed that they owed the preservation of their Nation to the Marquis."

It is possible that if, at this juncture, Ormonde had been sent with plenary powers to Ireland, his countrymen

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 10.

would still have cause to regard him as their preserver. His name carried great weight with both factions, and he was inaccessible to bribes. Unluckily, in 1660, Albemarle was Lord-Lieutenant, and although he did not propose to take up his residence at Dublin, there was then no question of his relinquishing office. Thus, the critical moment, before either of the contending parties had yet had leisure to review and marshal its forces, was irretrievably lost.

Meanwhile, if the Marquis was consulted on Irish affairs his influence was far from paramount. Often, indeed, it was rather the advice of so inconsiderable a hanger-on at Court as Dan O'Neill than of Ormonde that prevailed. The King found it difficult to adjudicate between the claims of those Irishmen who had shared his exile, and the actual proprietors of the soil, once his foes, but now the chief agents of his restoration. The latter were, undeniably, supreme in Ireland, for recuperative as is the Celtic race, its subjugation was too recent and too complete to allow of a renewal of the struggle. In the first flush of delight at the King's return, however, a few Roman Catholic transplanted gentlemen took the law into their own hands, and believing, doubtless, that they were merely anticipating justice, ejected the English intruders from their ancient homesteads. Disturbances occurred which gave the Irish executive an opportunity to enforce the Penal Laws against Romanists. Great was the consequent inconvenience to Catholics, who were thereby debarred from assembling to agree on a common ground of action.<sup>1</sup> But the indirect results of the riots were even more disastrous. The English Parliament obtained an excuse, of which they promptly took advantage, to denounce blood-thirsty Irish Papists. On landing, Charles was confronted by a petition couched in this sense. In reply, he imposed precautionary penal measures, and decreed that all adventurers and settlers should retain their allotments until, with the assistance of Parliament, he could take further order in the matter. Never was the axiom that possession is nine-tenths of

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. pp. 12-3.

the law, more completely verified. The Irish Parliament elected to discuss the Land Settlement, being chosen at the dictation of the actual proprietors, was entirely representative of their views and interests, and, consequently, bitterly hostile to the original owners of the soil.

It was not until the autumn that the King had leisure to enquire into the conflicting claims of the various parties. The difficulties of the position took their origin in Charles I.'s assent to the first act for raising money on forfeited lands in Ireland. It was on this act and deed of the royal martyr that adventurers founded their titles to the compensations they eventually obtained from Cromwell. By repudiating the act, Charles II. condemned his father. Yet he could not forget that he himself had made a solemn treaty with the Confederate Catholics. Largely through their own folly and perversity, that treaty had proved unavailing ; but amongst the signatories there were many who had endeavoured to fulfil their engagements. This faithful remnant, at least, was worthy of consideration. Again, while at Breda, Charles II. had undertaken to discharge the arrears of pay owing to the Commonwealth army. He could not well do otherwise, though the Protestant commanders—generally termed “forty-nine officers”—who had loyally served with his father and himself from the beginning of the Irish Rebellion to 1649, must have seemed no less deserving to a Stuart prince. Nor, in the year 1660, could Charles calmly contemplate the abandonment of those Irish Catholics, who had obediently followed his standards into Flanders. Piteous also was the lot of transplanted natives ; whilst the case of the widow who had lost her jointure, of the child who had lost his inheritance through the misconduct of a life-tenant equally called for redress. In the circumstances, it is not surprising that Clarendon begged Charles that no part of this imbroglio “might ever be referred to him.”<sup>1</sup> And Ormonde was not unduly pessimistic when he declared that he could not see “any light in so much darkness that might lead him to a beginning.”

<sup>1</sup> “Life of Clarendon,” p. 376.

By the month of September, when Charles began to unravel this terrible coil, all the agents for the various parties had furnished him with their clients' propositions. Into these schemes it is not necessary to enter. Every man knew he would have to sacrifice something either of his pretensions or possessions, and according to the invariable law of human nature, he strove to transfer the burden of sacrifice to another. Charles, indeed, was umpire; but how could he be strictly impartial, while confronted at every turn by the lowering menace of Cromwell's soldier settlers?

Thus the King was in a despairing mood, when in November Broghill, now created Earl of Orrery, and his fellow Commissioners made a suggestion, which seemed to offer a solution of the problem. They assured Charles that after all adventurers and settlers had been confirmed in their grants, he would still own, through forfeitures and otherwise, lands valued at £80,000<sup>1</sup>—a fund which ought to suffice for the reprisal<sup>2</sup> of all the Irish judged worthy of compensation by the King. It may be imagined with what rapture Charles received an announcement utterly at variance with the gloomy estimates of Ormonde and "others who knew the kingdom." Believing that he could now discharge both his own and the State's obligations, on November the 30th he issued a declaration for the settlement of Ireland.

With the exception of Church lands,<sup>3</sup> or those obtained by bribery, perjury, and other unlawful means, all adventurers and soldier settlers, whose lands represented

<sup>1</sup> This total was arrived at in the following manner:—

Estates of persons excepted by the Act of Indemnity . . . . .	£14,000
Gifts and gratuities from Cromwell to persons who had not served . . . . .	9,000
English Debentures and debts struck off . . . . .	10,000
Lands not disposed of—	
for County Dublin . . . . .	15,000
,, County Cork . . . . .	25,000
,, County Kerry . . . . .	7,000
	<hr/>
	£80,000

<sup>2</sup> "Reprisal," became the technical term for the compensation made in land to an outgoing landlord or tenant.

<sup>3</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. pp. 32-5.

the equivalent of loans or pay, were confirmed in their holdings—regicides, and persons who had opposed the King's restoration being alone excluded. The “forty-nine officers” were promised satisfaction of their arrears before September the 29th, 1661; and, on the present tenants being “reprised”<sup>1</sup> elsewhere, Protestants and innocent Papists were to be restored to their rightful estates. Those who had shared in the commencement of the rebellion, but had subsequently submitted and adhered to the Peace of 1648, were comprised in this category unless they had sued out decrees in Clare and Connaught, for, compulsory as had been the migration to the West,<sup>2</sup> transplanted persons of this class were to remain bound by their action.

A hasty perusal of the Declaration might convey the impression that Protestant and Papist were placed on an equality. Soon, however, the distinction drawn between them was only too apparent. No Romanist could recover property situated in corporations. He could only be reprised in the neighbourhood. Neither could he obtain possession of his estates before he had indemnified the settlers for any improvements the latter had chosen to make. This last stipulation was only just, though it was scarcely generous to allow so short a period for the completion of the reimbursements to the outgoing tenants, while the qualifications for innocence were certainly neither just nor generous. They excluded all applicants, who had resided within the rebel quarters or corresponded with Confederates, from obtaining redress. Yet both one and the other had been frequently unavoidable. The order in which restitution was arranged likewise favoured Protestants, the Irish soldiers, or “Ensignmen,” who had served Charles in Flanders being the last on the roll. Over and above this general scheme, Charles nominated thirty-six individuals, who were to be exempted from the onerous burden of producing proofs of innocence, and were forthwith to be replaced in the possession of their former domains. These favoured mortals were designated “nominees.”

<sup>1</sup> “Reprised,” i.e., compensated.

<sup>2</sup> Lingard, vol. ix. p. 56.

A letter which Ormonde wrote at this time to his wife's friend, Dr Fennell, shows that the Marquis foresaw many of the evils to which this settlement eventually gave rise. He frankly told the "Good Doctor" that as

"the conclusion was such as will displease many, and those perhaps of differing interests and affections, so that was not to be avoided, where expectations were so much greater than the means to satisfy them. The ancient natives, who had the misfortune to be found dispossessed, and under a severe rule (to call it no worse) and had not the power or opportunity to contribute more than in their wishes to the happy change, will no doubt bear the heaviest burden and will longer feel the smart of those wars that long afflicted the kingdom. I am not afraid to say that I am sorry for them, nor that anybody should conclude from thence that I would help them if I could; what was in my power I have done, and what shall be, I will, to relieve such as in my judgment merit it, to which there will need no greater inducement than that they are afflicted and repentant." And to make his meaning absolutely unmistakable on this point, the Marquis adds: "In this I speak only of those that can claim least of my ear."<sup>1</sup>

It was part of Ireland's constant ill fortune that his countrymen, especially those who could "claim least of his ear," did not entrust the pleading of their cause to the great-hearted Marquis. They were to prove singularly unhappy in the spokesmen they preferred to Ormonde.

On the same day that Charles published this Declaration, he also signed an important grant, or rather a series of grants, to Ormonde. Already in 1642, Charles I. had endeavoured to insure the Marquis against the consequences of his tenants' treasonable acts. Most of these held of Ormonde as their feudal lord. If they did not follow him to war, their leases reverted to him. The majority had not only failed to fulfil this obligation, but had actually fought against Ormonde. Yet, by a strict interpretation of the laws of treason, their rights might

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 10. Ormonde to Dr Gerald Fennell, 19th December 1660.

have escheated not to their landlord but to the Crown. It was the reversion of these rights that Charles I. had granted to Ormonde, and Charles II. now confirmed his father's action. But he did more. Knowing that the heavy burden of debt on Ormonde's property had been mainly contracted in the royal service, he decided that all mortgages possessed by the Marquis, which might be affected by the treasonable doings of the mortgagees, should revert to Ormonde. All Ormonde's debts to persons so convicted, whose property had consequently devolved on the Crown, were also forthwith to stand discharged. And, finally, all the quit rents on the Butler estates and arrears on prisage, which had been paid into the "usurped Exchequer," were to be accounted for to Ormonde.

Since the time of Edward III., the prisage of wine had been an integral part of the Butler inheritance, and apart from its historical associations it was of no slight value. Each ship landing a cargo of wine in Ireland was bound to pay on the proportion of two tuns to every eighteen tuns to the head of the house. In virtue of his office as hereditary Chief Butler, the Earl of Ormonde of the day, was moreover exempted from paying custom on the prisage; and although during the Commonwealth excise had been imposed, at the Restoration this invasion of Ormonde's privilege was abolished.

Ormonde's satisfaction at being reinstated in his rights and properties must have been intensified by the gracious fashion in which Charles performed this act of justice. In the preamble to the patent issued for that purpose, the King declared that

"nobody can wonder or envy that we should as soon as possible enter upon the due consideration of the very faithful, constant and eminent service performed to our Father of Blessed Memory, and ourself, upon the most abstracted consideration of honour, duty and conscience, and without the least pause or hesitation by James Butler."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 37.

On this occasion, Mr Secretary Nicholas held the pen for the King, but it may well have been Charles who prompted the scribe, for, as it proceeds, the panegyric is not without a flavour of personal reminiscence :

" And from that time when he (Ormonde) attended our person in the parts beyond the sea, with the same constancy and alacrity, he was never from us, but always supporting our hopes and our spirits in our greatest distresses with his presence and counsel, and, in many occasions and designs of importance, having been our sole counsellor and companion." And thus, the King concludes, " all good men should wonder if being restored to any ease in our own fortune, we should not make haste to give him ease in his, that is so engaged and broken for us."

Strange to say, Charles's confident—over-confident—assertion that no good man would wonder at his haste to restore the Marquis " to some ease in his fortune," was justified. That act not only aroused little murmuring, but it was more easily accomplished than in the case of some of Ormonde's fellow sufferers.<sup>1</sup> Tipperary had been less parcelled out amongst soldiers and adventurers than other districts. According to Clarendon, Cromwell had reserved it for his personal use; so that Ormonde had less difficulty in coming by his own than if his patrimony had lain elsewhere. His title, likewise, was so unassailable, that the adventurers and soldiers settled on his lands, hoping to be recompensed for their docility, yielded them without much protest.

Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to imagine that Ormonde's financial position was satisfactory. From a schedule of the Butler estates, it appears that the rent-roll, before 1640, averaged £8,867 per annum.<sup>2</sup> Three large charges, however, already in existence, must have made considerable inroads on the revenue. During King James's sequestration of the property, when " Earl Walter was starving in the Fleet Prison for eight years together,"

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Clarendon," vol. i. p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> Forster MSS., vol. ii. p. 93. Valentine Smith to Southwell.

the estate had been mulcted of £28,652. The smallest of the mortgages was a sum of £14,000,<sup>1</sup> representing the marriage portions of Ormonde's aunts and sisters, while the third charge—of £15,000—was the price of Lord Holland's consent to the marriage of James Butler and Elizabeth Preston. Thus, before the outbreak of the rebellion, Ormonde was liable for £57,652. These were, however, comparatively halcyon days. After 1641 the accountant notes: "that His Grace having pawned and disposed of all he had in His Majesty's service" had succeeded in scraping together another £38,760. "The debts contracted while His Grace was in banishment with his lady and children until the Restoration" (inclusive one would hope of Emilia's dowry, thrown into the royal melting-pot) came to a further £23,088. On that happy event, it became necessary for the Lord-Steward to maintain a suitable establishment. "All he had formerly, being lost and wasted by the wars, the necessaries for His Grace, for his Duchess and their children, for household stufte and for repairs of houses" could not be procured at a less cost than £13,116. By 1660, Ormonde's liabilities came to a total of £132,616.

If Ormonde had resembled some of his contemporaries, he would not have scrupled to avail himself of the means put into his hands for retrieving his fortunes. Parliament remitted £30,000 of incumbrances on his estates. But he only received £3,000 from that source, as he could not find it in his heart to beggar those tenants who did not satisfy the qualifications for innocence. He "would not take the full advantage of such persons' forfeiture,"<sup>2</sup> preferring to remember the intervals when they had done service to the King and himself, to those periods when they were in rebellion. Nor, although he had been legally dispensed from repaying loans advanced by persons belonging to the same category, would he profit by his creditors' shortcomings.

<sup>1</sup> Forster MSS., vol. ii. p. 97. A Pettigree (*sic*) of His Grace, James, late Duke of Ormonde's debts taken out of ould entrys and accompts amongst His Grace's writings.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.*

To the tenants, who had become possessed of his property in his absence, Ormonde was equally generous. The case of Mabell, Countess Dowager of Fingall, is an instance in point of his conduct in these circumstances. Evicted from her jointure lands in Meath by the Commonwealth Government, Lady Fingall had been reprimed with a portion of Ormonde's domains in Connaught. At his return, in order to avoid removal, she had eagerly offered a rent of £20 for her holdings. The rent was accepted, but at the end of a twelvemonth she implored Ormonde, "in pity for her present sad condition," to find some means of maintenance for herself and her children, so that she might be enabled to discharge her obligations to him.<sup>1</sup> Maintenance and restitution were hard to compass. Ormonde's agents complained bitterly that Lady Fingall's continued residence in Connaught stood in the way of admitting another and a more solvent tenant.<sup>2</sup> But the Marquis gave immediate orders that she should not be disturbed, and that the rent should be respited until the unhappy lady had recovered her jointure.

Among the creditors with whom Ormonde was at this time in correspondence, a certain Mrs Smith deserves a passing notice, less for the magnitude of her claim—which only amounted to £150—than because it was attested by Isaak Walton, the Patron Saint of Anglers. The husband of Mrs Smith had disbursed the sum in question upon "ensignes and flags and such utensils for war," to fulfil an order received from Ormonde. In this transaction, Isaak Walton had acted as Mr Smith's broker with the military tailors, and he now wrote for Mrs Smith a letter attesting the justice of the claim.

"Though I am a stranger almost to yourself," Walton wrote to Mrs Smith, "yet for your husband's sake, who was my dear friend, I am willing this my true testimony may do you good; and especially at this time which it

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. pp. 28-9. Mabell, Countess Dowager of Fingall to Ormonde, 21st August 1662.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 29. Commissioners to Ormonde, 2nd September 1662. Ormonde to Commissioners, Dublin Castle, 20th September 1662.

seems you are in necessity now, that it may do that which I intend; and because the Duke can have no knowledge of me to incline him to believe me, if His Grace will appoint some one of his attendants to shew this to my Lord the Bishop of Worcester, I think he will both say he knows this to be my hand, and that he thinks I am an honest man. Almighty God," he concludes, "keep the Duke and you and all that love him in his favour."<sup>1</sup>

Thus wrote one of the most engaging spirits of that, or any age. Nor can we avoid regretting that this brief epistle did not form the prelude to a regular correspondence. Perhaps Isaak Walton would not have neglected the opportunity for entering into relations with Ormonde, had he known that the latter could have given him ample information on the Irish practice of catching salmon with dogs, though, on the other hand, such a system might, conceivably, have seemed too barbaric, even to bear discussion, to the *Compleat Angler*.<sup>2</sup>

Matters secular in Ireland had been long in obtaining the most elementary ordering. With matters ecclesiastical it was otherwise. No act disestablishing the Anglican form of Church Government had been passed by Parliament, either at Westminster or at Dublin. There was consequently no legislation to be repealed, and Ormonde considered that the necessities of the case would be met by appointing the most eminent clergy to be found in the kingdom forthwith to the four vacant archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics. With Bramhall as Primate, these appointments would ensure reversion to the Anglican form of Church Government. The Irish Convention had already pronounced in favour of the restitution of endowments. But in the interval between the nomination and consecration of so many bishops, the Presbyterian party used all its influence to induce Charles to rescind the improvements effected in the stipends by Strafford, alleging

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. pp. 14-5. Isaak Walton to Mrs Dorothy Smith, 21st March 1661.

<sup>2</sup> "Evelyn's Diary" ed. H. B. Wheatley, vol. ii. p. 138.

that the acts for that purpose were merely Council Board ordinances. "Black Tom Strafford's" methods had doubtless been high-handed. In this instance, however, he had obtained Parliamentary sanction for the restoration of ecclesiastical property to its rightful use. The Bishops had therefore a strong case, and, being wiser in their generation than the Irish papists, they promptly secured Ormonde as their mediator and advocate with the King.<sup>1</sup> The Marquis fully justified their trust. All his sympathies were on their side. He realised the degradation that must ensue if the ministry was again reduced to the starvation salaries, that had been its portion before Strafford forced the chief robbers to disgorge the spoils of the Church. He did his utmost therefore to further the wishes of the petitioners. He was successful. Already, Charles had agreed to settle the inappropriate and forfeited tithes in his gift on the respective incumbents. On December the 5th he further empowered Ormonde to inform Bramhall of the grant of various other benefactions, including free diocesan schools and a uniform tithing rate. Speaking on his own behalf, the Marquis added that he undertook to be the Primate's solicitor and "see the business done, since these are things so much tending to the good of that torn and distracted Church."<sup>2</sup>

Ormonde was true to his word. The Bishops had informed the King that by "Divine Laws, he was nursing father to the Churches." It was certainly for their greater good that the exercise of these duties generally devolved on Ormonde.

The Marquis practised what he preached at his own expense, as well as that of the Sovereign. Whenever his interests and those of the Church were in danger of clashing, he showed a scrupulous regard for the Church's claims.<sup>3</sup> Yet at the same time it was from the Cavalier Duke that sectaries, harried or threatened by an over-

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlv. p. 21. Petition of Bishops resident in Dublin to King.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 23. Ormonde to Bramhall, 5th December 1660.

<sup>3</sup> "Reid's Presbyterian Church," vol. ii. p. 281.

zealous Episcopate, sought and found protection. So strong a partisan as Dr Reid declares that "the general mildness of Ormonde's administration presented a remarkable contrast" to that adopted towards non-conformists in England and Scotland. He was no less tolerant of Roman Catholics.<sup>1</sup> When immediately after the Restoration, the question of their treatment was raised, the French Ambassador, Monsieur de Ruvigny, told Mazarin that the "Marquis d'Ormonde est pour eux." Ormonde, he said, had expressed his satisfaction that it should fall to the lot of a Huguenot (Ruvigny belonged to *la religion*) to plead the cause of English Catholics. The Marquis had added that the best means "of moderating the passion of their enemies" was for Ruvigny to insist on that reciprocity of terms which the Cardinal announced he would mete out to French Protestants. This speech was eminently characteristic of Ormonde's shrewdness and humanity. Doubtless, he hoped, at one and the same stroke to procure some mitigation of their tribulations both for the Papists of Great Britain and for the Huguenots of France.

Ormonde's return to power and comparative affluence synchronised with his restoration to the Chancellorship of Trinity College, Dublin. During the wars and desolating theological disputations of the last twenty years, few institutions had fared more hardly. It was therefore an untold blessing for Trinity College that it should have gained a Chancellor bent on restoring Elizabeth's noble foundation to more than its ancient glories. Ormonde saw that the first requisite was a Vice-Chancellor with a talent for administration; he was fortunate enough to secure this *rara avis* in Jeremy Taylor, who at his solicitation accepted the post.<sup>2</sup>

This great man soon perceived he was engaged in no easy enterprise. On his arrival at Trinity, he wrote to Ormonde that he "found all things there in a perfect

<sup>1</sup> "Archives des Affaires Etrangères," vol. lxxiv. f. 352. Ruvigny to Mazarin, 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 17.

disorder; a heape of men and boys but no body of a college.”<sup>1</sup> It was clear that half measures would be useless.

“Before anything can be done regularly, something,” Jeremy Taylor very sensibly observed, “must be done irregularly, because the usual order of things is not only disturbed, but overthrown, and for the moment made impossible.”

The “something irregular” resolved itself into Ormonde’s nomination of five senior fellows, recommended by Jeremy Taylor. On their appointment, the Vice-Chancellor was able to announce that a “perfect college” was now formed—a statement quickly qualified, however, by the admission that

“yet we are but an imperfect university. For we have,” he continues, “no established formes of collating degrees, no public lectures, no schools, no Regius Professor of Divinity and scarce any Ensignes Academical.”

Yet, with Ormonde’s help, Taylor undertook to endure the labour of collecting and forming Statutes, so that “Posterity may see the University rising to its full state and splendour under the Government and conduct of your Excellency.”

This pledge was no idle boast. Jeremy Taylor was in his element in drawing up a code to govern a society of scholars. In fact, as it has been well said, “he was the regenerating force which drew to one common system the scattered elements of Irish learning.”<sup>2</sup> In the course of the next few years, he succeeded in establishing the affairs of the College on a wise and stable base, not even forgetting to draw up a list of books including almost every pamphlet or folio he himself had ever written,<sup>3</sup> and intended, it is supposed, for the College Library.

If Jeremy Taylor approved himself a capable organiser, he was also fortunate in his Chancellor. Ormonde took

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlvi. p. 26. Jeremy Taylor to Ormonde, 19th December 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Gosse, “Jeremy Taylor,” p. 169.  
*Idem*, p. 174.

an unwearying interest in the discipline and prosperity of the College, and the men it sent forth into the world.<sup>1</sup> To the latter he was a generous patron; and more jealous of the University's welfare than his own, he never rested until in Kerry and elsewhere he had recovered its former possessions, obtaining many a new endowment for his scholars in the course of his several governments.

Jeremy Taylor owed not alone his Vice-Chancellorship, but also his appointment to the Bishopric of Down and Connor to the Marquis's influence. It cannot, however, be said that he found existence amongst the northerners as congenial as that amongst the scholars of Trinity. His energies were consumed in an unceasing warfare with the Presbyterian occupants of the cures, so that from his heart he acknowledged his diocese to be "a place of torment."<sup>2</sup> When he proceeded thither to take up his residence, only two of the clergy responded to his summons, the majority succinctly informing their new pastor that they did not recognise his jurisdiction.<sup>3</sup> In the circumstances, Jeremy Taylor had no choice save to find more amenable vicars, and this was the course he adopted. He declared thirty-six livings vacant; and replaced the incumbents by obedient sons of the Church, imported from England. The Presbyterian divines were not, however, of the stuff meekly to submit to being supplanted. Taylor's virtues and talents quickly won the esteem of the neighbouring gentry, but the ministers took good care that he should not be allowed to make friends with the humbler members of his flock.<sup>4</sup> In truth, they were "implacable." Rather than live in "perpetual contest against such violent persons," who actually threatened his life, Taylor besought Ormonde to give him "some parsonage in Munster," where he might end his days in peace.

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Gosse, "Jeremy Taylor," p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlvi. p. 26. Jeremy Taylor to Ormonde, 19th December 1660.

<sup>4</sup> Edmund Gosse, "Jeremy Taylor," p. 174.

The situation was a hard one for a retiring man of letters ; and we cannot wonder, though we may regret, that neither his piety nor his good nature enabled him to maintain an unruffled composure under these provocations. Jeremy Taylor had reason to complain of the unchristian attitude of the ministers, but as he had himself said, "a scrupulous conscience is always to be pitied, because though it is seldom wise, it is always pious."<sup>1</sup> And the Scottish pastors, wrong-headed as they were, yet, undoubtedly, were sufferers for righteousness sake. The law of the land was responsible for the position in which Jeremy Taylor found himself. He would have been strangely neglectful of his duties if he had acquiesced in the wholesale repudiation of his authority by his clergy. Yet the perpetual appeals he utters for the aid of the secular arm are not without sadness, coming from the author of the "Liberty of Prophesying." Thus, on one occasion, after denouncing the Presbyterian ministers as the originators of all trouble, preachers of sedition, "stirring up the people to blood and tumult," he begs quite crudely for "some field officer to overawe them."

"My Lord," he continues in a phrase, which has a familiar ring to readers of leading articles on the Irish question, "this country is very easy to be reduced to order, if the secular power will appear vigorously but in securing two or three of these incendiaries. My lord, the men themselves are contemptible, and the fortune of His Majesty is triumphant over all probabilities of a new warre, but he is not restored to a peaceable Government here as long as such inconsiderable people dare talk in the pulpits treason instead of religion."<sup>2</sup>

Ormonde was never eager to turn field officers into the acolytes of exasperated prelates. Instead, he strove to soothe the Bishop with assurances that he would be properly supported by the Government if the law was set at defiance ; though he utterly refused to consider the

<sup>1</sup> "Liberty of Prophesying," Jeremy Taylor's "Works," vol. v. p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxi. p. 36. Jeremy Taylor to Lord Montgomery of Ards, 27th October 1660.

alternative of a "parsonage in Munster" to the Bishopric of Down. Until his death, Jeremy Taylor remained in his uneasy position. And in course of time he seems to have obtained a measure of conformity from his mutinous diocesans, but on the discovery of the Presbyterian Plot, three years later, he reverted to his original panacea. Telling Ormonde that as long as the ministers are "permitted amongst us there will be a perpetual seminary of schism and discontent," he suggested that at least they should be made to give security for good behaviour.<sup>1</sup> This course, he thought, would either drive them out of the country, or force them to give a reasonable account of themselves as long as they stayed in Ireland.

Jeremy Taylor was speaking perhaps rather in the character of the Bishop of Down, the principal administrator of a disaffected district, than as the Father in God of a stiff-necked people. There are moments when toleration of wild and seditious talk may become a clear negation of duty. Nor was it with the consciences of the ministers that Taylor wished to meddle. He desired to prevent the militant theologians from developing into a centre of rebellion—a danger to the whole community. Nevertheless there is something repugnant in the spectacle of a saint turned policeman, and especially this particular saint who, in the immediate past, had emphatically declared that "we must be safe in a mutual toleration and private liberty of persuasion, unless some other anchor can be thought upon where we may fasten our floating vessels with safety."<sup>2</sup>

It is distinctly a matter for regret that Ormonde did

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlv. p. 82. Bishop of Down to Ormonde, 11th June 1663.

<sup>2</sup> See also the noble passage:—"It is one of the glories of the Christian Religion that it was so pious, excellent, miraculous, and persuasive that it came in upon its own piety and wisdom with no other force but a torrent of arguments and demonstration of the spirit; a mighty rush of wind to beat down all strongholds and every high thought and imagination: but towards the persons of men it was always full of meekness and charity, compliance and toleration, condescending and bearing with one another; restoring persons overtaken with error in the spirit of meekness, considering lest we also should be tempted."—"Works," vol. v., "Liberty of Prophesying," p. 523.

not accede to Jeremy Taylor's requests and transfer him to the See of Meath, where, as his latest biographer observes, "he would not only have been placed in the midst of a friendly population, but would have been close to Dublin and his valuable work at Trinity College."<sup>1</sup>

On the 30th of March 1661 James Butler was created Duke of Ormonde in Ireland, and Lord High Steward of England, in virtue of this latter office carrying St Edward's crown at Charles II.'s Coronation.

Pageants and festivals are not always propitious to the serenity of the chief actors. The crowning of Charles was an instance in point. On the very morning of the great day, while the Peers sat in Westminster Hall, the High Constable, the Earl of Northumberland, came to the King and told him

"that amongst the young Noblemen who were appointed to carry the several parts of the King's mantle, the Lord Ossory challenged the place before the Lord Percy, his eldest son, whereas, the Duke of Ormonde had no place in the ceremony of the day as Duke, but only as Earl of Brecknock, and so the eldest sons of all ancienter earls ought to take place of his eldest son."<sup>2</sup>

Lord Northumberland was correct; and Charles had no choice but to bid Ossory "desist from his pretence." Unhappily, the infinitely little has sometimes disproportionate consequences, and Ormonde, who had known nothing of the matter, had eventually to pay heavily for Ossory's indiscretion.

Already the English nobility were inclined to be jealous of the great Irishman, who had won his commanding position by a devotion they had never sought to emulate. Henceforward, they adduced Ossory's conduct as proof positive of a determinate plan on the part of the House of Butler to place the peerage of Ireland on an equality with that of England. This accusation found wide credence and support, for it had the merit both of

<sup>1</sup> Edmund Gosse, "Jeremy Taylor," p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> "Life of Clarendon," vol. i. p. 457.

imposing on the credulous, and of providing a large number of courtiers with a plausible cloak for their own malice.

The most unconcerned personage of this petty drama seems to have been the Duke himself. In fact, Clarendon charges him with too scornful a disregard of the "prejudice and the envy the others had towards him, the marks whereof he was compelled afterwards to bear, which he did with the same magnanimity."<sup>1</sup> In truth, at this juncture, Ormonde had matters to ponder of such transcendent importance that he had probably as little leisure as inclination to focus his attention on the precedence observed in a Court Procession.

The King's Declaration had exhorted all suitors to file their claims to lands before the 1st of May 1661. But, since nothing could be definitely settled until Parliament confirmed the King's declaration, the Irish had hitherto taken little action. Roman Catholics still hoped that they would eventually secure more favourable terms; and the restoration of Lord Clancarty, Colonel Richard Butler, and some half dozen "nominees" having exhausted the lands available at that moment for reprisals,<sup>2</sup> the Commissioners did nothing to quicken the claimants.

The Commissioners were right to restore these meritorious gentlemen to their own; but the rest of their conduct could not bear scrutiny. Sir Audley Mervyn, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, who "always gave the rule on the Court of Claims," was, according to Lord Aungier, "the most partial Judge on earth."<sup>3</sup> And, certainly, "a vain, selfish man, who cajoled all parties and promised everybody, yet meant nothing all the while but his own interest," was scarcely suited for a position where he could make or mar the fortunes of half the gentlemen in Ireland.<sup>4</sup> Even if the allotments had been conducted with the strictest equity, compensation would have been

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Clarendon," vol. i. p. 458.

<sup>2</sup> Reprisals—the technical term for the compensation in land allotted where disturbance of the occupier took place.

<sup>3</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxx. p. 167. Aungier to Ormonde, 25th July 1661.

<sup>4</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 60.

hard to find. But, by a stroke of ingenious villainy, Mervyn and his accomplices devised "cautionary reprisals," whereby most of the lands in Dublin, Louth, and Kildare were entrusted to the keeping of Sir Charles Coote, now Lord Mountrath, Lord Massareene, and three or four members of "the gang." Dublin rang with the complaints of widows vainly appealing for the jointures guaranteed to them by law; while "nominees," like Lord Fingall, who could not be treated with the same disregard as these defenceless creatures, were accorded grants on the exchequer to still their clamours.

On May the 8th, 1661, Parliament met at Dublin; and it was immediately apparent that the members of the Lower House were merely the deputies of the adventurer and soldier classes. In fact, Lord Orrery boasted that in the entire assembly only one Papist could be found.<sup>1</sup> The dominant party wished the Declaration to be confirmed "verbatim." The Upper House, representing the older landed interest, was equally determined that it should not pass without amendment. It will be remembered that in 1643, when the English Parliament was in great straits for money, any adventurer making a further advance of a fourth on his original loan, was promised double the value of his first stake. For instance, by this act, known as the "Doubling Ordinance," a man who had risked £1,200, on lending another £300 was entitled not to £1,500 worth of property, but to the equivalent of £3,000. In Leinster this sum purchased 3,000 acres, in Ulster 9,000. Never was there a more lucrative gamble. Already it was evident that land to satisfy bona fide claims would be hard to find, but if the "Doubling Ordinance" was accepted, the Irish Catholics might bid adieu for ever to all hope of restoration.

Even in the Irish House of Lords, which from its composition was no less anxious to preserve the ancient landowners, than was the House of Commons to protect the new settlers, there were a few men who advocated the

<sup>1</sup> "State Letters of Roger Boyle," vol. i. p. 36. Orrery to Ormonde, 15th May 1661.

retention of the "Doubling Ordinance" in the Statute Book. Their spokesman was Lord Massareene, the Sir John Clotworthy, whose rude fanaticism had not spared the calm of Strafford's last moments on the scaffold. Lord Massareene had the most cogent personal motives for his attitude. Lord Aungier, on the other hand, voiced the discontent of the opposition, who triumphantly pointed out that the King was not bound by an ordinance devised as a weapon against his Father.

After much controversy, and some communication conducted between the Dublin Parliament and the English Privy Council by Lord Aungier, both Houses of Parliament (the Upper representing the "Irish interest," and the lower the "English interest"), severally deputed Commissioners to England. From the first it was evident that the representatives of the Commons were wiser in their generation than the "Irish interest," themselves, no children of light. By Lord Mountrath and Lord Orrery's care, a sum of £20,000 to £30,000 was raised amongst their clients, and prudently laid out in making friends for the Cromwellian soldiery at royalist Whitehall.<sup>1</sup> Their antagonists had no such funds at their disposal. They had few advocates about the King, and were, moreover, forced to contend against a mass of ignorant prejudice. The average Englishman did not question the complicity of the entire Irish nation in the Ulster massacres. The Councillors, before whom the Irish agents argued their case, were scarcely better informed. If any individual dared to protest against these sweeping allegations, or against the "Doubling Ordinance," he was, as Lord Aungier complained, promptly accused of "being a friend to Teague." Nor did the Irish adopt methods calculated to allay suspicion.<sup>2</sup> Proud of the services they had rendered Charles in exile, they not only ignored their previous misdemeanours, but assumed a haughty, self-righteous tone which merely exasperated their judges. Had they been guided by Ormonde, they would have

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxi. p. 147. Lord Aungier to Ormonde, 10th July 1661.

"modestly extenuated" their own offences rather than have spent their energies in denouncing their opponents. But they were so tactless that the Duke actually regretted the

"liberty they had to speak for themselves!" Indeed, he grimly added, "it is long since I have given over any hope they would do, or be advised to do, what was best for them, or be persuaded to that which might properly, and for their advantage, be said by others, but would not only change its nature, coming from them, but hinder others from making use of their arguments, lest they might be suspected of communicating counsels with them; which is a reproach I will avoid almost as much, as I will the guilt of being of their party."<sup>1</sup>

Ormonde's refusal to associate himself with the Irish agents at this juncture was not unreasonable. During his sojourn in the Low Countries he had already found himself in conflict with the tribe of Talbots, Gilbert, Peter, Thomas, and Richard, the future Duke of Tyrconnel. Two of the brotherhood were in holy orders—one a friar, the other a Jesuit,—but the gown and the tonsure had not affected their original nature. They were all typical adventurers, quick-witted, brave, unscrupulous, excellent swordsmen, insolent dare-devils, and the worst of councillors. Dick Talbot had ingratiated himself with the Duke of York during the exile, and it was in his influence over the prince that the Irish now put their trust. Talbot revelled in this position—not least because of the opportunities it afforded for railing at Ormonde's advice and discrediting his friendly intentions.<sup>2</sup> On his side, Ormonde, seeing that his counsels were scornfully rejected, and his character "every day torn in pieces" by some or other of their party, determined to leave them to their self-elected guides.<sup>2</sup> And until he became Lord-Lieutenant, he resolutely avoided taking any part in the Committee, which sat to consider the Bill of Settlement.

Nevertheless, when any deserving individual with

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 66. Ormonde to Sir M. Eustace, 3rd September 1661.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 71.

whom he was acquainted chose to make a personal appeal to him, Ormonde would strain every nerve on his behalf. Nor was it only for royalists that he exerted his influence. In his brief day of power, Henry Cromwell had, on the whole, merited well of Ireland. He had governed with sense and good feeling and, in especial, he had thrown his ægis round the Duchess of Ormonde and her family. Now that the tables were turned, Ormonde showed that he had a long memory for benefits received ; and it was in the Protector's most determined antagonist, that Oliver's son found his truest friend.<sup>1</sup> Thanks to the Duke's mediation, Henry Cromwell obtained permission to sell his estates, the purchasers being confirmed in their possession. The correspondence that took place between Henry Cromwell and Ormonde is honourable to both men. In an age, when great personages like Lord Orrery abounded in fulsome protestations, "Colonel Henry's" manly, straightforward acknowledgment is positively refreshing.

"I return Your Excellency," he wrote, "infinite thanks for your courage in appearing for my obnoxious name, and I doe as much wish your Excellency may never more need such services as I formerly endeavoured to do you, as I then did with affection and heartiness."<sup>2</sup>

Left to themselves and the counsels of Dick Talbot, Sir Nicholas Plunket and his colleagues, the Irish Commissioners, did not achieve the brilliant triumph they anticipated. Had Talbot induced his royal patron to relinquish the huge tracts of country, forfeited by the regicides and assigned to the Duke of York, he would have amply redeemed his boasts. But it was easier for him to pretend that whatever was denied to the "ensignmen," was denied at James Butler's secret instigation, than to run counter to his master's greed. Finally he took upon himself to teach the Duke of Ormonde his duty ; and as his bearing savoured rather of the guard-room than the Council Chamber it is, perhaps, not extraordinary that

<sup>1</sup> Sir F. Falkiner, "Foundation of Charles II. Hospital," p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxi. p. 283. Henry Cromwell to Ormonde, 2nd April 1661.

the Duke did not relish either the style or substance of these monitions. Indeed, Talbot spoke

"in so huffing a manner and used such insolent language in his discourse that it looked like a challenge ; and His Grace, waiting upon His Majesty, desired to know if it was his pleasure that, at this time of day, he should put off his doublet to fight duels with Dick Talbot."<sup>1</sup>

Charles was not yet sunk so low as to tolerate downright insult to his chief councillors, and Colonel Talbot was sent to cool his temper, and mend his manners in the Tower. His disgrace was not, however, long-lived. He was soon again at liberty to make both money and mischief by fishing in troubled waters.

Meanwhile, the complicated nature of the Irish Land Settlement and the difficulties which revealed themselves at every turn, were not without effect on the titular Lord - Lieutenant. Immediately before and after the Restoration, George Monk had dissuaded the King from sending Ormonde to Ireland. But Albemarle's anxiety regarding the large property he owned in that country overcame his dislike to resigning his commission. He saw no way to deliver Ireland "out of those intricacies in which she was involved" but by sending over a capable and responsible Governor.<sup>2</sup> He realised that no one was so fit for the post as Ormonde, and thenceforward, plied the King and, through him, the Duke with arguments and entreaties until he obtained their joint consent.

To Albemarle's proposal Charles acceded readily enough, Ormonde with many misgivings. It was Clarendon, Ormonde's greatest friend, who most vigorously opposed the appointment. The Chancellor knew nothing of the business until it was decided. Then, the King and Ormonde sought him out, Charles, with his irrepressible love of mischief, casually enquiring of Hyde "what he thought of sending the Duke of Ormonde as Lord-Lieutenant to Ireland." Whatever were Clarendon's faults, they did not include ambiguity of expression. In his most magisterial manner, he replied that the "King would

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 73.

<sup>2</sup> "Life of Clarendon," vol. i. p. 490.

do very ill in sending Ormonde, and that the Duke would do much worse if he decided to go." Neither of the guilty pair could hide a smile as they confessed "that the General had prevailed with the King and the King with the Duke ; so the matter was resolved, and there remained nothing to be done but preparing the instructions which he must take."

Clarendon would not have been Clarendon if he had allowed his mouth to be closed by the first intimation of his Sovereign's orders ; and before he had done with them, he gave King and Duke alike a piece of his mind. He told them

"that it would be good for neither of them that the Duke should be away from the King or that he should be in Ireland where he would be able to do no good. Besides that," he sternly added, Ormonde "had given himself so much to his ease and pleasure since he came into England" (the poor Duke invariably rose at 5 o'clock in the morning to transact business, but Hyde's standard of industry was high) "that he would never be able to take the pains, which that most laborious province would require. If this counsel had been taken," Clarendon proceeded, "when the King first came over, it might have had good success, when the Duke was full of reputation and of unquestionable interest in His Majesty, and the King was more feared and reverenced than presumed upon ; so that the Duke would have had full authority to have restrained the exorbitant desires and expectations of all the several parties, who had all guilt enough upon their hearts to fear some rigour from the King, or to receive moderate grace with infinite submission and acknowledgement. But now," the relentless monitor declared, "the Duke, besides his withdrawing himself from all business as much as he could, had let himself fall to familiarities with all degrees of men, and, upon their arguments, undertaken to protect, or, at least, to solicit men's interests, which, it may be, might not upon examination be founded upon justice."

There is, undoubtedly, something comic in the spectacle of the most powerful subject in Great Britain meekly submitting to this unqualified rating. It was not, however, as we know, the first time that Clarendon had given the

Duke a good scolding, and, in this instance, Ormonde did not deny the force of the Chancellor's arguments. Perhaps, indeed, his candid spirit pleaded guilty to Clarendon's impeachment: that "he carried to Ireland the same infirmity as that of the King, which kept it from being settled here; which was an unwillingness to deny any man what he could not but see was impossible to grant, and a desire to please everybody, which, whosoever affected, pleased nobody." Anyhow, the Duke, who fully recognised that the Chancellor's "commotion proceeded from the integrity of his unquestionable friendship" received the exhortation with becoming humility. He did not attempt to controvert reasoning, with much of which, he assured Clarendon, he was in absolute agreement. Neither did he deny the pitfalls and perils incident to the service he had undertaken. "Yet," he concluded, "Ireland must not be given over."<sup>1</sup> If it was the general opinion that he could contribute to composing disorder, and to establishing a settled administration, "he would not suspect himself, but believe he might be able to do somewhat towards it"—brave and modest words, which go far to explain Ormonde's influence with his contemporaries. He repeated that he did not challenge the Chancellor's estimate of his capacities for the work that lay before him. But he solemnly gave his word to Hyde that nothing should be "defective on his part in point of industry; for he was resolved to take indefatigable pains for a year or two, in which he hoped the settlement would be completed," adding—we may be sure, with that humorous smile which Lely has transferred to canvas—"that he might have ease and recreation for the rest of his life."

Thus did the great controversy terminate, and Clarendon's acquiescence was obtained. His approval, however, he withheld, although he tried to hope that Ormonde was right in supposing that his properties would benefit by the presence in Ireland of their absentee owner; while he could not but recognise that the Court atmosphere was growing more and more distasteful to James Butler.

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Clarendon," vol. i. p. 493.

Still, altruistic considerations apart, it was naturally a severe trial to the Chancellor to be parted from the one man on whose courage and right feeling he could rely. And, indeed, from the hour of Ormonde's departure, Hyde's struggle against the lower influences that encompassed Charles became more arduous and more desperate.

Although Ormonde had felt it his duty not to deny himself to the summons of his King and country, he took up his allotted burden with a heavy heart. He said plainly that he expected condolences on the "very uneasy service" awaiting him.

"In that employment," he shrewdly remarked, "besides other unpleasant difficulties there are two disadvantages proper to me, one of the contending parties believing I owe them more kindness and protection than I can find myself chargeable with, and the other suspecting I retain that prejudice which I am as free from. This temper in them will be attended undeniably with clamour and scandal upon my most equal and wary deportment."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, it is clear, Ormonde cherished few illusions as to the prospect confronting him. If he went, it was because he felt that "Ireland must not be given over."

At first, indeed, the transports of joy Ormonde's appointment excited seemed to give the lie to these sombre prognostications. The news was given out on the 4th of November. By the middle of the month it reached Kilkenny, which straightway went mad with delight, the little town blazing with bonfires, and echoing with salvoes to the glory of the new Viceroy. Dublin was not far behind Kilkenny in rejoicing. Ormonde was gravely informed that the intelligence was not only "to the very great comfort of honest men," but that the "other sort" also pretended great joy!<sup>2</sup> Certainly both Houses, the Anglican Clergy, the Provost and Fellows of Trinity vied with one another to do honour to their new Governor. As for the Speaker, Sir Audley Mervyn, his florid periods

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 74, 7th November 1661.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 14. Sir W. Flower to Ormonde, Dunmore, 26th November.

on this occasion surpass even the average of contemporary bombast.

"Happy are your subjects," he told Charles, "that share in the Queen of Sheba's blessing, to stand daily before you to hear your wisdom and to see your magnificence, whilst we your subjects only behold you by reflection in your Government; but, Sir, you have chosen a noble and a true glass to represent you amiable to your people."<sup>1</sup>

The "influential" example of kings and vicegerents, was, he further remarked, typified in the case of Alphonsus, King of Aragon, who having a wry neck made that infirmity fashionable at his court. But Charles having considerably appointed as Vicegerent "a person who walks with an upright heart, fears God and honours the King," there was every hope that the Irish nation would model themselves on Ormonde's example.

The mails from Ireland were not merely laden with complimentary addresses for Ormonde. With the New Year, Parliament met at Dublin, and straightway proceeded to busy itself with the discussion of a Papist Plot. It was, in truth, an imposture, well timed to keep alive amongst the English public that distrust of Irish Roman Catholics, which was essential to the consolidation of the Cromwellian Land Settlement. The whole story was manifestly false and was soon exploded, but not before the unhappy Romanists had suffered many vexations at the hands of suspicious magistrates. Moreover, it was a rather superfluous invention, since matters were already shaping badly for the "Irish interest" at Whitehall. The Committee entrusted with the task of drafting a bill for the Settlement of property in Ireland, was now in the midst of its labours, and in close communication with Ormonde, who, from the hour he became Lord-Lieutenant, assiduously attended their deliberations. The prospects of a satisfactory issue were, however, not promising, though there was no lack of suggestions for solving the riddle insoluble.

The Irish had concentrated their ambitions on

<sup>1</sup> Ireland Cal. S.P., Charles II., vol. i. p. 463, Sir A. Mervyn's Speech 1661.

procuring the repeal of three clauses in the King's Declaration. They prayed, firstly, that residence in rebel quarters should not incapacitate suitors from pleading innocence ; next, that acceptance of estates in the West should not be a bar to restoration of land elsewhere ; and thirdly, that the restitution of property should not be conditional on the previous reprisal of the adventurers or soldiers in possession. Probably, the first of these petitions was the only one the Irish had ever any reasonable chance of obtaining. Although it may be argued that the rebels would not have tolerated loyalists within their quarters, and that at so great a distance of time reliable information as to individual guilt or the reverse was difficult to obtain, there is no doubt that the qualifications for innocence were too severe. Nevertheless, the enormous percentage of claimants who, despite these regulations, were eventually acquitted of guilt by the Courts, shows that, if other considerations had not intervened, the majority of wrongs would have been righted. As regards transplanted gentry, Irish Roman Catholics were no worse treated in this respect than the Protestants, though the number of the latter was far less. Nor, apart from the relative force of the two parties, would it have been equitable to evict without compensation a large body of men who had sunk their capital in improving lands, legally, though unjustly, allotted to them by the State.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Montgomery and the Irish Lord Chancellor, speaking for the House of Lords, put forward more practicable proposals. Lord Montgomery suggested that if the lands available for compensating evicted tenants were insufficient, a certain quota should be subtracted from every reprisable interest for the satisfaction of the whole. It is conceivable that if the Irish had adopted this scheme it might have been straightway carried. The Lord Chancellor, Sir Maurice Eustace, proposed that the Sovereign should buy up all soldiers' and adventurers' allotments, at a price which would cover the debt, for which they were originally the equivalent, plus an allow-

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 87-8.

ance for improvements, and settle them, subject to reimbursement, on the ancient proprietors. Since the value of the lands was notoriously in excess of the debt they represented, the Irish could probably have found the money for this transaction; and justice and expediency would have been reconciled. But the Irish agents were so positive of driving a more profitable bargain that they rejected the compromise. This was unfortunate, for Ormonde was only too right when he said that if every class of claimant was to be contented,

"there must be discoveries made of a new Ireland, for the old will not serve to satisfy these engagements. It remains," he added, "to determine which party must suffer, in the default of means to satisfy all, or whether both must be proportionably losers."<sup>1</sup>

If the Irish had not been blind to the signs of the times, they would have realised that under no circumstances would their opponents be made to suffer for their successes of the past. Public opinion in England, and the Parliaments of both kingdoms would never allow industrious English Protestants to be ousted in favour of shiftless Irish Papists. It is true that on his return, Charles had been honestly desirous to see justice done to those loyal Irishmen who had been his companions of adversity. Indeed, more than a twelvemonth after his restoration, prosperity had as yet so little impaired his memory that he could plead their cause with genuine emotion.

"When I came first to Bruges in Flanders," he wrote to Lord Orrery, "and was far from being in a good condition, I found my lord of Taragh there who invited me to his house, where I lodged neer a month till I could provide another place for myself, and during the whole time of my abode in those parts, he gave me frequent evidences of his good affection and Dutie to me, which I resolved to have requited, if he had lived; and thereupon, since he and his wife are dead, I must, particularly, recommend his children to you and likewise their Aunt,

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 81. Ormonde to Sir M. Eustace.

Mrs Warren, who was there likewise at Bruges, to your care that they may be out of hand put into possession of ye severall (*sic*) which belong to them.”<sup>1</sup>

The writer of these lines was assuredly not indifferent to the fate of the Ensignmen, but he was not prepared to risk, possibly, a revolution and, most certainly, his popularity with both Parliaments for their sake. It is the most eloquent commentary on Charles’s consequent powerlessness that two years later Lord Taragh’s children were still “unrequited,” and the pension allowed them in the meantime had only intermittently been paid.

Moreover, the Irish undoubtedly played their cards very ill. The arrogance of their agents formed an unfortunate contrast to the calculated submissiveness of their antagonists.<sup>2</sup> Charles was already wearied by interminable sittings at the Council Board. He became exasperated when the Irish dwelt persistently on the obligations he had incurred towards them by the Peace of 1648.

“Kings do not care to be taught their duty in such a manner, and it sounded harsh to His Majesty to hear that demanded of him as a matter of right, which he was considering whether he should grant them out of mere grace and favour.”<sup>3</sup>

If certain past episodes were no longer present to them, their opponents had not grown forgetful or inclined to allow these remembrances to be buried in oblivion.

It was part of their persistent ill luck, or want of judgment, that the Irish should have confided the advocacy of their cause to Sir Nicholas Plunket. In 1647, that worthy had been one of the two agents deputed by the Supreme Council to the Court of Rome. He had then, with his own hand, drawn up a document offering the Kingdom of Ireland to the Pope, or any other Roman

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlii. p. 191. King (in his own hand) to Lord Orrery, 14th August 1661.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P., Ireland, Charles II., vol. ii. p. 6. King to Lord-Lieutenant, Whitehall, 13th January 1663.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 82.

Catholic prince willing to take that unhappy country under his protection. In an evil hour for Ireland, these identical papers were disinterred and produced at the Council Board at Whitehall. It was impossible for Plunket to deny his own autograph, and the results were fatal to his clients. He was forbidden the King's presence, and debarred from making any further addresses for alterations in the Bill of Settlement. The Irish amendments were summarily rejected, and the measure was then hurriedly completed, finally reaching the Irish Parliament in the spring of 1662.

The arrival of the bill preceded that of Ormonde in Ireland ; but the enthusiasm of both Houses was not damped by the absence of the popular Viceroy. Despite his broad acres, he was known to be a comparatively poor man for the station he was to occupy. With remarkable unanimity, therefore, Parliament voted him the truly "seasonable" gift of £30,000—a proceeding which apparently afforded scarcely less pleasure to the King than to his faithful Lieutenant.<sup>1</sup> In reply, after gratefully acknowledging the splendid donation, Ormonde assured the Speaker that he regarded the performance of his

"administrative duties, as the best and most proper retribution I can make for such a present, and these," he concluded, "I set before me as the taske and business of that parte of my life, which God and the King shall designe for that imployment."<sup>2</sup>

Parliament's sense of Ormonde's services was likewise reflected in their treatment of his firstborn. Ossory was a member of the House of Commons, both at Dublin and at Westminster. In June 1662, however, he was called to the Irish House of Lords, all his late colleagues solemnly escorting him to the Upper Chamber. On their side, the Peers were determined not to allow themselves to be outdone in cordiality by the Commons, and when

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 32. Mr Secretary Nicholas to Lord Justices, 19th April 1662.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, pp. 31-2. Ormonde to Speaker, Whitehall, 19th April 1662.

Ossory entered their precincts, they received him with the announcement that the bench of earls had waived their precedence in his favour. Their Lordship's Speaker, likewise, thanked the Commons for the honour they had done Ossory, "than whom," they declared, "none could come to them more wished for."<sup>1</sup>

The arrangements for the reception of Catherine of Braganza fell to Ormonde's share as Lord-Steward, and crosswinds and stormy seas delaying her advent, Ormonde's departure for Ireland was consequently postponed long after the time originally appointed. Indeed, summer had come before Ormonde and the Commissioners entrusted with the execution of the Bill of Settlement, set forth on a journey which closely resembled a royal progress. Everywhere the Duke was met and welcomed by the Lord-Lieutenants and the militia of the counties he traversed. He embarked at Holyhead, and after a dangerous crossing—his shipwreck being freely reported—he landed at Howth on Sunday the 27th of July, the anniversary of the day on which fifteen years earlier he had bidden a mournful farewell to Ireland. He spent the night at Howth House, where next day he was rejoined by all the great personages and dignitaries of the kingdom who escorted him thence to Dublin. The procession must have been imposing. The Sheriffs led the way, followed by four troops of horse, the workmanlike buffcoats and caps of Lord Orrery's guards-men forming an effective contrast to the gay costume of a band of "Bachelors," in white doublets and black breeches trimmed with skyblue ribbons, who caracoled around the Viceroy's coach.<sup>2</sup> Within two miles of the city, Ormonde descended from his carriage and mounted on horseback, "to the great satisfaction," we are told, "of the multitude, who admired his Person as much (if possible) as they had formerly admired his virtues."

In those days, Dublin was not a very large town, but it took Ormonde some time before he found himself once more within the walls of the Castle, where in the

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Kingdom's Intelligencer*, No. 32, Monday, 4th August 1662.

past he had spent so many anxious hours. At the gates, he paused to receive the compliments of the City Fathers. A little further, he stopped again "to take the divertisement of the Musick, that was placed to entertain him," and a few minutes later, he was confronted by a "small youth," who delivered a Latin harangue "with a comely confidence and behaviour suitable to his employment." After the formal investiture was completed, the

"joy of the citizens was continued by the plenty of wine that was given in the streets, the ringing of bells, bonfires and several fireworks, among which one was more remarkable where a Crown was fixed on a frame, which after the first lighting was wholly consumed to ashes, the Crown still preserved."

In the seventeenth century rejoicings were as long-drawn out, as the orations that were their inevitable accompaniment. The next day pomps and pageants began anew. Ormonde received the formal addresses of the two Houses of Parliament, the University and Convocation, while the Mayor presented him with a gold bowl valued at £400, and the freedom of the City enclosed in a gold casket. Convocation was less lavish of gifts than the municipality, but made amends by a copious display of erudition and eloquence. For the Prolocutor having reminded Ormonde of the "religious maxime of Government that Piety is the best Policy," also handsomely adduced Aristotle as testimony that "that which makes a flourishing city or a famous Kingdom is not so much the good Laws as the good man, the good magistrate such as Your Grace, who puts the laws into execution."

Thus after long years did Ormonde come once more into his own. Outwardly no scene could be fairer. But, perhaps in later days, when sorely plagued by the absence of good legislation in the country he was called to administer, the "good magistrate" may have felt that the wise laws of antiquity were as delusive as the applause of the fond and fickle multitude.

## CHAPTER II

### ORMONDE'S RETURN

IN one important respect, the condition of Ireland had altered little since Ormonde was driven from its shores fifteen years earlier. The revenue was still inadequate. The army was unpaid and consequently in a chronic state of discontent. It is true that, in the year of Ormonde's advent as Lord-Lieutenant, receipts and expenditure exactly balanced, or, rather, a surplus of 5s. 4½d. remained in the hands of the Auditor General,<sup>1</sup> but even this narrow margin had not been achieved, save at the cost of sacrifices, which would horrify the most penurious of modern Chancellors of the Exchequer.

In 1661 the Revenue was composed mainly of three items, Quit rents, Excise and Customs and Poll money, forming a total of £201,046, 12s. 1½d.<sup>2</sup> Less than a fifth of this sum was devoted to the charges of the Civil Government, the rest being absorbed by the Military List. Such a division may appear ludicrously disproportionate. Nevertheless, the position of the soldiery was not enviable. Ormonde told the English Privy Council that the troops were "brought to that extremity that they were forced to steal even for food," and that the average private thought it "an advantage to be discharged."<sup>3</sup>

If the army deserved pity, the Civil Service was no happier. The salaries of the latter were so low

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., N.S., vol. iii. pref. xi.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, pp. x.-xi.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. i. p. 638. Lord-Lieutenant and Council to Secretary Bennet, 29th November 1662.

that they were practically a premium on dishonesty. When the Chief Justice received £100 per annum what can have been the wage of his subalterns?<sup>1</sup> The result of this pernicious economy was only what might have been anticipated. The pending land transference offered innumerable opportunities to the mass of petty officials to enrich themselves at the expense of the wretched claimant, and the claimant's widow and orphan, and these opportunities were utilised to the uttermost.

When Ormonde returned to Ireland, he found the country was only slowly and tentatively working its way back to anything approaching prosperity. Indeed, considering the absence of mineral wealth, a more rapid advance could scarcely be expected. The cattle trade, as yet, was the sole national asset.<sup>2</sup> Agricultural skill was non-existent; butter, in particular, being so carelessly made and badly packed that it failed to command a price. On the other hand, the pasturage was splendid; and, since the Irish graziers did not attempt to fatten their beasts, the outlay in forage and wages was small. Good and evil are generally curiously blended in this world. The advent of the English settlers, which had wrought such misery in Ireland, was already proving a considerable encouragement to the trade of their adopted land. The Adventurers and Cromwellian soldiers were great cattle-breeders. They vastly improved the native stock, and by 1663 a third more bullocks and sheep were being exported than in 1641, before the outbreak of the rebellion. The duty of 3s. 4d. a head on shipment did not deter enterprise, as England afforded a profitable market for either live or dead stock. In 1663, when English farmers began to complain that they were being undersold by the Irish, it was estimated that the yearly importations had reached the total of 61,000 head.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, cattle often took the place of payments in metal money. A shortage of coin

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., N.S., vol. iii. pref. xii.

<sup>2</sup> A. Murray, "History of Commercial Relations between England and Ireland," pp. 23-4.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, MSS. vol. xl. p. 359. Sir T. Vyner and others to Lords Justices, 23rd August 1607.

had always been one of Ireland's economic difficulties, the one resource of her financiers being the debasement of the currency. It is significant that Ormonde found no less than £50,000 of tokens in circulation, which, on being called in, produced a bare £1,500 worth of brass and copper. Barter was naturally preferred to such a dubious coinage.

With regard to matters ecclesiastical, the persecution inflicted at intervals during the Commonwealth on the Romanist clergy had been impotent to shake their hold on the native population. Sir William Petty, generally a shrewd observer, declares, indeed, that the poor adhered to their religion "rather as a custom, than a dogma."<sup>1</sup> They rather seemed to obey "their grandees and the heads of their sects than God." For when the landlords were either banished or transplanted, and adventurers and soldiers reigned in their stead, it was remarked that the peasantry relaxed "the stiffness of their pertinacity to the Pope."<sup>2</sup> Since the same writer, however, less than twenty years later, calculated that 800,000 Irishmen were governed no less in their temporal than in their spiritual concerns by 1,000 secular and 25,000 regular priests, his former statement is scarcely convincing.

The truth is that, in 1661, as in 1651, Ormonde was confronted with a hostile *imperium in imperio*. He was Chief Governor, representing a Sovereign "in things ecclesiastical, as well as temporal, supreme." The King's Vicegerent, it lay with him to accept or reject measures voted by a Protestant House of Commons. But the authority which the bulk of the nation acknowledged, and to which they yielded a ready, an enthusiastic obedience, was a foreign power, none the less dangerous because a mistaken legal code often forced it into subterranean ways and to the use of occult weapons. In so large a body, naturally, all did not profess ultramontane opinions. On Ormonde's advent, the more moderate Catholics hoped that by dissociating themselves from Papal pretensions to temporal

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Petty, "Political Anatomy of Ireland," p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, pp. 36-7.

power, they might gain toleration for their faith, and a share in the political life of their native land. Their spokesman, and the leader of this eminently respectable minority was a certain Friar Peter Walsh. That such a man should be produced by such a society would be truly astounding did we not remember "that the spirit bloweth where it listeth." Walsh, who has been aptly compared to Fra Paolo Sarpi, has found a panegyrist in Bishop Burnet, who declared him to be the "honestest and learnedest" man he had ever known in the Roman Priesthood.<sup>1</sup> Certainly, Walsh possessed no few affinities with the militant Whig prelate. Both were great scholars, whose real vocation lay, however, rather in the turmoil of an unquiet world than in the leisured calm of college or cell. Both owned a gift of arresting, vigorous English, for though neither was a stylist, neither was ever dull. And both perhaps had a more spiritual conception of the essentials of religion, than the bigoted fanatics, Tory Parsons, and Roman Clerics, who would gladly have made a bonfire of the Bishop of Sarum and the Franciscan lecturer.

A friendship contracted with Jansenius, in his student days at Louvain, cannot have disposed Walsh to submission to Giovanni Battista Rinuccini. At any rate, from the first, the Franciscan threw his influence into the scale against the Nuncio. Walsh's first action of note was a work of mercy. In 1646, when, thanks to Owen Roe O'Neill, Rinuccini was the virtual ruler of Kilkenny, Walsh contrived, in his despite, to save the Mayor and Alderman from being hanged and the town from being sacked. Rinuccini was not the man to forgive such opposition.<sup>2</sup> But Walsh held on bravely, adding to his unpopularity in the same quarter by a series of sermons in support of the King of England's sovereignty in Ireland. Thenceforward, he stood self-denounced to Ultramontane vengeance. He was deprived of his lecturership and driven from Kilkenny, Rinuccini, by a refinement of spite, forbidding him to enter any town possessed of a

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, "History of his own Times," vol. i. p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> N. D. B., Article Peter Walsh.

library. In fact, it is curious that Walsh should have weathered such a sea of troubles. He did, however, enjoy the backing of the Supreme Council and a few Bishops, while the Franciscans, who still gloried in the tradition of Friar Bacon, stood by their learned brother. On Ormonde's return to Ireland in 1648 he made Walsh's acquaintance, and encouraged the friar to employ his pen in support of the peace he was then concluding with the Confederate Catholics. The friendship then contracted was life-long. Castlehaven, likewise, came to Walsh's aid and made him his chaplain, although he imperilled his hold on his troops by so open a defiance to the Nuncio's behests. Thus as long as Ormonde and the Anglo-Irish party had a footing in Ireland, Walsh did not lack defenders, but after the Lord-Lieutenant and Castlehaven quitted the country, his plight was lamentable. There was no place for the liberal-minded friar in a land where rival fanatics held sway. He had to hide both from Cromwellians and Nuncioists and thought himself lucky in obtaining a passport to London. Here he was not molested. In Madrid, however, he was less fortunate, being promptly discovered by the long arm of the Papacy, and flung into prison. On his release, he betook himself to Holland, only to find that he was again a mark for Ultramontane persecution. In despair, he returned to London, where until 1660 his existence was one of shifts and concealments.

Like many another of his race and faith, Walsh hailed the Restoration as the dawn of liberty. In that memorable year, he published an open letter to Ormonde beseeching him to protect in Irish Catholics the natural antagonists of rebellious Protestant sectarians. And he followed up this epistle to Ormonde by an appeal to Irish ecclesiastics to make a loyal address to the King which should efface the evil memories of the past. In this attempt he was at first more successful than might have been anticipated. He was appointed procurator for the Irish clergy, and in 1661 presented Ormonde with a loyal "Remonstrance" signed by a certain number of representative priests and laymen,

who emphatically repudiated the Pope's right of interference in the domain temporal. So loyal a priest could not be slighted by the authorities, and, in answer to his petition, Walsh was gladdened by the release of one hundred and twenty priests from prison. When the Duke became Lord-Lieutenant, he followed him to Dublin and for a short time sunned himself in the rays of viceregal favour.

This interlude of prosperity was brief. The jealousy ever latent between the Dominican and Franciscan orders, and the dread of giving offence at Rome, which haunted the Irish clergy living abroad, quickly aroused a formidable opposition to the Remonstrance.<sup>1</sup> For a time, however, it was supposed that free discussion might effect a compromise, and, accordingly, during the summer of 1665, Ormonde licensed a meeting at Dublin. Considering the nervous terror and dislike entertained for such assemblies by contemporary Protestants, it was a bold step on the Lord-Lieutenant's part.<sup>2</sup> At a later period, indeed, he thought it well to justify his action by alleging anticipation of the divisions to which it would lead amongst the Popish Clergy, "to the great security of the Government and Protestants, and against the opposition of the Pope and his creatures and Nuncio's"—a somewhat Machiavellian policy.

It cannot be denied that the first part of Ormonde's prognostications was fulfilled. The Primate inaugurated the proceedings by announcing that he would rather have both hands consumed than subscribe the Remonstrance. And the letters he brought from the Internuncio at Brussels being equally condemnatory, it was evident that Walsh's attempt at conciliation was foredoomed. The clergy followed their superiors, voting an address, which, although conceding certain points, did not, in Ormonde's opinion, safeguard the questions at issue. He therefore dissolved the meeting, which dispersed peacefully enough, though it proved to be the starting point for the persecution and

<sup>1</sup> N. D. B., ed. 1909, vol. xx. p. 678, Article Peter Walsh.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. vi. p. 131. Duke of Ormonde to Earl of Arran, 29th December 1680.

eventual destruction of the moderate party. Its results were equally barren of benefits to future administrations, although Ormonde had no doubt that this failure was due to the unjust and blundering policy of his successors.

With regard to the Protestant dissenters from the Established Church, the Ulster Presbyterians had not been enamoured of the reign of the Saints. Nor were the sectaries, who had been encouraged by such rulers as Fleetwood, much less distasteful to the northern pastors than the prelatical priesthood. But in the later years of the Commonwealth, the Presbyterian congregations had undoubtedly grown and prospered. In 1651, only 5 ministers had the hardihood to remain in Ulster. By 1660, 70 ministers served 80 parishes, representing, perhaps, some 100,000 souls. To these men the restoration of the Episcopal State Church was an overwhelming calamity, and, as we know from Jeremy Taylor's experiences, they did not confine themselves to passive forms of resistance. Neither can it be said that the Bishop of Down was singular in the afflictions he endured at their hands. The Bishop of Derry had an equally lamentable tale to tell concerning his diocese.<sup>1</sup> He had, at first, it appears, entertained hopes of the amendment of his flock, but he quickly found

"it was but a Fitt, and a qualme of Loyalty and Conformity that takes us once in half a year against the Assize. And as soon as the Judge is gone, we are as we were; I wish," the writer sadly concludes, "not worse, for Libels have been scattered about a Large one sett up in the Market Place in Ugly (Scottish) Rhymes."

The accounts emanating from lay sources were not more encouraging. Lord Mount Alexander writing from Ulster, told Ormonde that as long as the "pretended Ministers" lived amongst the people so that the latter could hear them "by stealth and otherwise," they would never come to Church,

"unless they doe it, as they did it last Sunday, to see soe great a stranger as I am; iff it succeed soe this

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlv. p. 70. Bishop of Derry to Ormonde, 24th October 1662.

Sunday," his humorous Lordship declared, " I thinke I must goe in Procession from Church to Church to convert the people, and soe turn a kind of a small Saint Andrew to convert my Contrimen."<sup>1</sup>

At the same time that the wilder spirits were invoking the aid of the muse to right their grievances, the more responsible members of the community were petitioning the Duke for restitution to their cures and pulpits. When this appeal was discussed at the Council Board, Ormonde advocated a mild policy, remarking that "they were unhappy who first suffered *for* the King and then suffered *under* him."<sup>2</sup> To the ministers themselves, he made answer that although the Church was re-established on her ancient basis, he did not forget that the Declaration of Breda had promised toleration to all religious opinions, not dangerous to the peace of the Kingdom; and, if he could not license ministers to preach without leave of their diocesan, he would not interfere with "any pious duties"<sup>3</sup> in their own private houses to their own families, or others who might occasionally lodge under their roofs. But bearing, doubtless, the "Ugly Scottish Rhymes" in mind, he qualified this utterance by adding that under colour of the worship of God he would not permit reproachful words either against the Prayerbook or the government of the Church. It was clear that the Duke would gladly have readmitted to their livings any ministers prepared to conform,<sup>4</sup> but, unluckily, the power to do so did not rest with him. Deluded by the notion that when it came to the point the Administration would not dare to turn them out of their cures, the Scottish clergy had allowed the last day of grace, "Black St Bartholomew's," to pass without subscribing to the Act of Uniformity. Meanwhile, the Bishops had appointed Churchmen in their stead and utterly declined to stretch the legal term on behalf of repentant Nonconformists.

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxiii. p. 18. Earl of Mount Alexander to Ormonde, Newtown, 7th August 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Reid, vol. ii. p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlvi. p. 299. Ormonde's answer to Scotch ministers, 21st October 1662.

<sup>4</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 119.

By temperament and conviction alike, Ormonde was ever in favour of toleration, and in this instance he also realised that it was imperative not to drive the Northern Protestants to desperation. Their brethren of England had boasted that if it came to a rising they could count on the aid of eight thousand veterans from Ireland. And it was notorious that the Irish army was filled with fanatics, who would gladly have joined any revolt. Evidently the first step to be taken in the interests of public peace was to cashier the disaffected troopers. But their wages being unpaid and the exchequer empty, this solution of the difficulty seemed unattainable, until Ormonde advanced out of his own pocket the sum needed for a work that admitted of no delay.<sup>1</sup> He then proceeded to appoint trustworthy officers to the various corps, and to frame regulations for their ordering and discipline.<sup>2</sup>

This code was both comprehensive and draconic. Blasphemy against the Trinity, and "drawing sword after the watch is set," were equally to be visited with the death penalty—although it is doubtful whether, in time of peace, Ormonde would have felt himself empowered to execute a private guilty of offences against purely military laws. But the document is instructive. Its minute provisions against extortion of food, without the equivalent in ready money or "tickets," show the straits to which the penury of the paymasters reduced alike the soldier and the civilian on whom he was quartered. In truth, lack of funds was now as ever the chief hindrance to sound administration in Ireland. Had the national finances been less deplorable in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is possible that the twentieth century would hear less of an insoluble Irish question.

Such were the essentials of the country whose destinies were now entrusted to Ormonde's guidance. On his arrival, the new Viceroy took up his residence at the Phoenix Lodge. It was there that he had stayed before

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. i. pp. 597-8. Laws for Irish Army, 1662.

the battle of Rathmines, and it was there that Henry Cromwell also had lived during his tenure of office; and small and unpretentious as it was, both Sir Maurice Eustace and Orrery urged Ormonde to make it, rather than the Castle, his home. In fact, the Chancellor's description of the latter as "nastie and inconvenient" shows that it had not changed for the better since Wentworth complained bitterly of the official residence.<sup>1</sup> The Phoenix certainly admitted of improvements, a hall, good stables, and a chapel being, according to the Chancellor, almost indispensable additions. And it should be noted that it was in the above order that the Chancellor entered these several items, though, having done so, he promptly repented of the worldly spirit thus disclosed, and sought to make amends by concluding his business letter with the pious exhortation: "Your Grace, his predecessors were for barns and stables before Churches, but Your Grace hath not soe learned Christ."

Lord Orrery had a good deal to say on the same subject. He told Ormonde that having been his own architect in Munster, he felt he might "pretend something to engineership,"<sup>2</sup> and had consequently spent an hour designing alterations to the Phoenix. His plans also included a hall and stables, the former to balance a wing erected by Colonel Henry Cromwell. Quite casually, he adds, "and to make it of even length thereunto, a chapel should be added, without which Your Grace's family will not be a little disaccommodated." So much for the House of Prayer. To the stables he, unlike the Chancellor, had clearly devoted deeper consideration, since he stipulates that "they should be near the house, for I know Your Lordship loves to see your horses, and hear you have the gout."

It is no reflection on Ormonde's piety, that the associations of the Phoenix ultimately reflected Orrery's designs rather than Eustace's, and were more sporting than

<sup>1</sup> Carte, MSS., vol. xxx. p. 232. Sir Maurice Eustace to Ormonde, 26th December 1661.

<sup>2</sup> "Orrery Letters," vol. i. p. 62. Orrery to Ormonde, 28th December 1661.

devotional. When Ormonde abandoned the Lodge for Chapelizod he established his hawks, hounds, and horses at the Phoenix, making over their supervision, with the title of Ranger of the Phoenix Park, to Colonel Edward Cooke, one of the Commissioners of the Court of Claims. It was a labour of love to Cooke, who collected falcons, dogs, and even a pack of beagles with equal enthusiasm, writing Ormonde amusing reports on his charges. Deer and partridges were amongst the Duke's earliest investments for the Park. A sum of £334 was expended on the former; the Duke obtaining Lord Bulkeley's leave to send a gentleman with nets and dogs to his property in North Wales to collect coveys, which were not to be had in the neighbourhood of Dublin.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, so barren was that country of partridges that Strafford had been reduced to hawking small hedgerow birds, for lack of a bigger quarry.

From the outset, Ormonde thoroughly appreciated the capabilities of the domain, which had come under his care. He instructed Colonel Cooke to lay in provisions of beech-mast and mustard for planting, and left the Government no peace till he could round off the borders of the new park by the acquisition of Chapelizod and various other small lots of land. These purchases, the nucleus of the present Phoenix Park, cost the Treasury some £10,000, the wall erected at the same time proving almost as expensive as the land it enclosed. Nor did the £7,890 then expended cover the bill in this instance, for the contractor, Dodson by name, was dishonest and his work required to be perpetually recommenced. Indeed, it does not seem to have fulfilled its primary purpose. On one occasion, Ossory reported that some of the deer had broken out, and "got away past recovery" to the mountains.<sup>2</sup> And Cooke declared that the poaching privates of His Majesty's army were as destructive to the precious partridges as their natural enemies "the ringtails and kites. There is scarcely a partridge left in these

<sup>1</sup> Carte, "Report."

<sup>2</sup> Carte, p. 185. Ossory to Ormonde, 2nd July 1664.

parts," he mourns, and "trammels (traps) are carried out every night under red coats."<sup>1</sup>

The initial £10,000 and Dodson's "decayed" wall were not the only expenses incurred by the Administration on account of the Phoenix Park.<sup>2</sup> It must be owned that bills connected with that property had a fatal tendency to increase and multiply. By 1669 the total outlay had reached £31,000, a great sum in those days. On the other hand, there are few financial transactions of the period, which public opinion would now more gladly ratify than the preservation of that beautiful tract of country for the citizens of Dublin. The Irish capital, in fact, owes no small debt of gratitude to the Duke of Ormonde, both for its acquisition, and for the determined fashion in which he opposed its alienation to greedy Court harpies like the Duchess of Cleveland and Sir James Edwardes, who had obtained grants of the domain from the too facile Monarch.

On the 27th of October Ormonde met Parliament to give his assent to the Bill of Settlement and several other Acts relating to the Revenue. His speech, on this occasion, being unusually long, he was unable to compass the "comely Confidence," which had characterised the harangue of the "small youth," who had welcomed him to Dublin. In short, the great Duke's memory played him false. He stopped dead, tried to recall his periods, only to break down again, but his excellent good sense quickly came to his aid. Without more ado, he told his audience:

"My Lords and Gentlemen, I suppose, or, at least, I hope that none of you have so ill an opinion of me as to think me so weak and unadvised as to speak to so august an assembly extempore. I am declaring His Highness's sense, and profess I have forgot what follows next, and must, therefore, have recourse to my speech!"<sup>3</sup>

Whereupon, he drew his discourse from his pocket and calmly read it through. Thus, the address met with

<sup>1</sup> "Report," Carte MSS., p. 192. Colonel Cooke to Ormonde, 26th November 1668.

<sup>2</sup> Elrington Ball, "History of Dublin County," part iv. p. 185. Carte, vol. iv. p. 115.

proper applause, and by the desire of Parliament was forthwith printed.

The bills being passed, and Ormonde's speech delivered, the two Houses and the Viceroy gave themselves a holiday. Parliament adjourned until November, and Ormonde departed to Kilkenny, where, on October the 27th, his daughter Mary was married to Lord Cavendish, the future Duke of Devonshire.

The Bill of Settlement, when it emerged from the scrutiny and revision to which it had been subjected, did not differ materially from the scheme adumbrated in the Declaration. The "doubling ordinance" was rejected as a basis of calculation, and the original order of precedence for restoration was maintained.<sup>1</sup> Innocent Protestants and Papists, not having sued out lands in Connaught, were first reinstated. Protestants and Roman Catholics, who had accepted western holdings, came next, while the Ensignmen remained the last on the list. Everywhere quit-rents were reserved for the Crown. No profitable lands were to be held under the pretence of being unprofitable; and any one advancing forged or spurious claims ran the risk of forfeiting his property to the General Compensation Fund. Those who had "concealed," or, as we should say, mortgaged or assigned their estates to trustees, in anticipation of the rebellion, incurred the same penalty. These rules were framed with a laudable purpose, but, undoubtedly, they added to that insecurity of tenure which had been the bane of Ireland for the last hundred years. No landlord could be certain that at any moment a "discoverer" of "concealed lands," bent on making his profit out of the Crown's gain, might not succeed in trumping up a case against him.

There was no going back on the clause that insured the Protestant settler, adventurer, or soldier from being compelled to surrender his holding without compensation.<sup>2</sup> It was laid down as a governing principle that he must be "reprised" before the Irish Catholic pro-

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., Ireland, Ch. II., vol. i. pref. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, pref. x,



MARY BUTLER, DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

*From a picture by SIR PETER LELY at Hardwick.*

[To face p. 58 (vol. ii.).



priest could recover possession of his inheritance. In this respect, the Papist got harsher measure than the Protestant who was similarly situated. For the innocent Protestant, *i.e.*, one who had not been in rebellion before September the 15th, 1643, could demand instant readmission. Reprisals were to be granted to the Cromwellian tenant. But they were not the necessary preliminary, as in the corresponding case of a Catholic landlord. To this rule there was one exception, though the difference was apparent rather than real, since it affected an extremely limited class.<sup>1</sup> Protestants, who had accepted holdings in the West, were informed that they must abide by the consequences of their own actions. They could obtain re-entry into their domain only on the same terms as Catholics.

Romanists also suffered from another disadvantage. They could not recover within a corporate town, save by an especial act of grace on the Sovereign's part. They had perforce to content themselves with the reprisals in the city's neighbourhood. The greatest ordeal that confronted them was, however, the task of establishing their innocence. So stringent were the conditions with which they had to comply, that it is no wonder that the repeal of these rules should have been the chief ambition of the Irish agents. Claimants had to prove that they had not joined the rebels before the Cessation of 1643, nor enjoyed their estates in Catholic quarters.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, if they had thrown in their lot with the Confederates before the Treaty of 1648-9, or shared the latter's councils, or assisted the Nuncio's party, or treated with the Duke of Lorraine, or corresponded (though living in a Royalist area) with rebels, they were equally debarred from obtaining a favourable verdict. The net was indeed cast wide; and the struggle must have seemed well-nigh hopeless to the majority of Irish Catholics. Yet, Father D'Alton admits that strong as was the bias of the Court of Claims against native plaintiffs, thirty - eight out of forty - five Catholics were declared innocent during its first session.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., Ireland, Ch. II., vol. i. pref. xi.      <sup>2</sup> *Idem*, pref. xii.

<sup>3</sup> Father D'Alton, "History of Ireland," vol. ii. p. 371.

During the next session the percentage was even higher. As against the "nocency" of seven individuals, the blamelessness of fifty-three was proclaimed. Ormonde, writing in August 1663, also says that although a sixth of the claimants had not yet been heard, it was reported that 800,000 acres were already restored to ancient proprietors.<sup>1</sup> These latter figures must be received with caution, since the Duke expressly guards himself from vouching for their accuracy, but it shows on how vast a scale restorations were being effected. Seen at this great distance of time, when our vision is no longer deflected by fanaticism, and our judgment is not warped by memories of recent and intolerable horror, the whole transaction must be viewed with regret. Yet, faulty as was the settlement, had it been carried through with fearless rectitude, it would compare not unfavourably with the dealings of other races in similar circumstances. The conduct of the *übermensch*, whether in Prussian Poland or the Far West of America, is seldom according to the ethics of the Sermon on the Mount. As Petty remarked: "upon the playing of this game or match upon so great odds, the English won, and have (among and besides other pretences) a gamester's right, at least, to the (Irish) estates."<sup>2</sup> It requires a vast amount of experience, generally of the disagreeable type, before the dominant race lays to heart the maxim that "Piety is the best Policy."

It should be added that Romanists were not the only Irishmen deserving of pity. The "49 officers" had, in many cases, received no wage since they were cashiered with the rest of Stafford's little force in May 1641.<sup>3</sup> At that date each company had been allotted £50, on account, for division amongst the officers; yet, since that distant day these gentlemen had borne the brunt of the fighting, steadily battling on from the outbreak of the rebellion to the bitter close. Now they saw a chance of recovering a portion of their debt; their arrears being charged on

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. cxiii. f. 164. Ormonde to Secretary Bennet, 22nd August 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Petty, "Political Anatomy," p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> R. Bagwell, "Ireland under the Stuarts," vol. i. pp. 293-4.

forfeited houses in walled towns, and on the Compensation Fund. From this second source they were promised 12s. 6d. in the £1. But, for their undoing, the King was persuaded to burden this security with the payments due to auditors for army stores delivered before 1643.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the sum available was further reduced by being charged with arrears of Lord Leicester's official salary. That nobleman had never set foot in Ireland, but he obtained £50,000.

The main principle of Plantations had always been radically bad. In practice, it had been additionally vitiated by the influence of that favouritism which was distinctive of Stuart rule. It would have been a crying scandal if certain of the "nominees," renowned all the world over for their loyalty, had been compelled to sue, cap in hand, to the Commissioners. But it was nothing short of a national calamity that Charles had not the courage or self-control to abide by rules which were mainly of his own framing. He must have known the harm he was doing to the "49 officers" and Ensignmen. Indeed, neither Ormonde nor Parliament suffered him to ignore the consequences of his misplaced lavishness, but Ensignmen and "49 officers" were far away. The successful petitioners were close at hand.

Neither the clauses of the New Act, nor the powers of the Commissioners charged with its interpretation were so clearly defined as to make the selection of these gentlemen an unimportant matter. The first Board which sat from 1660-1 was either by birth or domicile intimately connected with Ireland. Its members had unquestionably allowed their prejudices and personal interests to affect their judicial awards: and it was consequently decided that their successors should have no stake in the country on whose behalf they were called to legislate. Accordingly, the new Commissioners were imported from England, and by the beginning of 1663 had set to work in good earnest.

Besides Colonel Edward Cooke, Ormonde's sporting

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. i. pref. ix.

ranger, the Commission comprised Sir Winston Churchill, best known to fame as the Duke of Marlborough's father, Sir Richard Rainsford, Sir Thomas Beverly, Sir Edward Dering, and Henry Coventry, who was shortly replaced by Sir Allen Brodrick. Just as Cooke's correspondence enables us to follow the fortunes of Ormonde's kennels, so Winston Churchill's copious correspondence with Secretary Bennet makes us understand the doings of the Commissioners. Churchill was, in truth, little better than Henry Bennet's jackal. Few lucrative jobs escaped his piercing eye, and he was a past master in the art of escaping from the obligations incurred on assuming office, but owing to his peculiarities of creed and temper, it was the Surveyor-General, Allen Brodrick, who loomed largest in the public view.

Sir Allen had begun life as a "49 officer" and frequently preached in Dublin during the Commonwealth. When, however, it became necessary to burn incense at other shrines, he developed a pretty interest in the lighter literature of the day. And although he might not inaptly have sat for the character of "Sir Knight," he made it his particular business to forward the second part of "Hudibras" to the Lord-Lieutenant, who loved that poem only less than his royal master.<sup>1</sup> Neither the godly discipline of youthful days, nor the literary pursuits of his backsliding middle age seem, however, to have softened Brodrick's disposition. His most notable quarrel took place with Sir William Petty, to whom he actually sent a challenge. Petty accepted ; but as he was extremely short-sighted, he stipulated, having the choice of arms, that the meeting should take place in a dark cellar, and that the weapons should be carpenters' axes.<sup>2</sup> Although Brodrick studied the works of Dryden and Samuel Butler, he was never conspicuous for a ready sense of humour. He could not, however, be unconscious of the amusement excited by the sly doctor's proposals. He realised that

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxiii. p. 140. Sir A. Brodrick to Ormonde, 24th November 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Fitzmaurice, "Life of Sir W. Petty," pp. 151-2.

nothing but ridicule was to be gained by a duel fought in these burlesque conditions, and he reluctantly and sullenly renounced his project.

Early in 1662 Ormonde had informed the Lords-Justices that a sum of £1,200, or £25 a week, would be allowed for the expenses of the Commission. Ormonde himself acknowledged that he had no genius for figures; and the Justices were obliged to point out that £25 a week came not to £1,200 but to £1,300 a year. Even on the higher scale, they likewise foresaw that it would be difficult to provide suitably for "soe many persons, so eminently employed by His Majesty, who, moreover, will have to entertain persons of quality." Happily, the building, formerly sacred to the Court of Wards, which stood designated by its size and locality for the headquarters of the Commission, owned amongst its other amenities a remarkably ingenious steward. This invaluable man undertook to provide table-linen, pewter, and plate for the use of the Commissioners, their secretaries, and attendants at the Court, and to "keep a table for them as reasonably as he can afford," not forgetting "to lay in cool beer"<sup>1</sup> at the modest rate of £16, 5s. od. a week. It was he, indeed, who saved the situation, since lodgings for each Commissioner and his two servants at 25s. a week absorbed the remainder of the allowance. As it was, the Justices were jubilant over the bargain they had driven, their remarks on the paucity of the funds showing that charges of parsimony brought against the Treasury are no modern development.<sup>2</sup> It is perhaps unnecessary to add that, eventually, the expenses incurred largely exceeded good Mr Thomas Crawe's estimate, and that a more generous outlay had finally to be sanctioned.

The first claimants who appeared before the Commissioners were mainly those who had too good a record to dread investigation, and one verdict of innocence succeeded another. But such a state of things was not to

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxx. f. 307. Lord-Lieutenant to Ormonde, 14th May 1662.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 404. Lord-Lieutenant and Council to Bennet, 16th May 1664. *Idem*, p. 408. King to Lord-Lieutenant, 13th June 1664.

the liking of a House of Commons elected by the new settlers. Discretionary rights had been vested in the Lord-Lieutenant and his Council. It was in their joint power to make new rules; and the Commons were determined that these should be framed to exclude as many Irish as possible from restoration.

On the 13th of February the whole House, led by the magniloquent Mervyn, accordingly waited on Ormonde, to proffer certain categorical demands, disguised as the advice and request of Parliament. Sir Audley told Ormonde that the "alarm that Hannibal was at the gates, was hot throughout the Protestant Plantations."<sup>1</sup> To avert the threatened danger, the Commons therefore desired that all the Proclamations issued by the Lords-Justices previous to the Cessation (and it will be remembered on what slender pretences Parsons was wont to accuse Irish Catholics of treason) should be received as evidence against claimants. All examinations and depositions taken during the Commonwealth, even though many were notoriously based on pure hearsay, were likewise to be admitted; and the final adjudication entailing the establishing of the plaintiff's case was also to be removed from the Commissioner's jurisdiction to that of an ordinary Court of Justice, although the jurors might be personally interested in the suit. Finally, the Commons demanded the widest interpretation for the term of the rebels' quarters, while they insisted that no one having lived within those limits should be qualified to give witness on questions of innocence.

The mere suggestion of rules, "so clashing with equity," showed that the Commons had no doubt as to their supremacy in the State.<sup>2</sup> Ormonde's answer partook too much of reproof to find favour in their eyes, and in their wrath, and by way of a counterblast, they ordered Sir Audley's discourse, as mischievous a composition as such bombast could well be, to be printed. And a fortnight later, they passed a resolution pledging themselves to do their utmost to prevent the great and manifold prejudices

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., Ch. II., Ireland, vol. ii. p. 23. Sir A. Mervyn's Speech.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 129.

and inconveniences which threatened the Protestants of Ireland from the Court of Claims. In the actual state of the country, such a motion was tantamount to a cry of arms, and the "Fanatics' Plot" showed that its purport had not been misunderstood. Meanwhile, Charles's anger at the proceedings of the Irish Legislature was sincere. Bennet assured Ormonde that

"His Majesty expresses entire dislike and dissatisfaction towards the temper he sees in the House of Commons, and to such a degree," continues Sir Henry, "that I am persuaded that nothing but their disowning what they have done, and restoring themselves to that duty and moderation that becomes them (and especially after soe many acts of grace and indulgence towards them) will keep them tolerably well in his good opinion."<sup>1</sup>

This was spoken like a King; and the prosecution of the printers who had published Mervyn's speech showed that Charles was in earnest, but, unluckily, neither he nor Ormonde was able to impose a lasting silence on the malcontents.

The vote in question was passed on February the 28th. A plot, which would have delivered the Castle and Viceroy into the hands of the rebels, was only detected on the 5th of March. Its authors, of whom the most notable was Colonel Blood, believing they could rely on the majority of the English settlers, were apparently confident of success. They forgot that few conspiracies have lacked false brethren. In this instance, the informer was a certain Philip Alden, who, through a mutual friend, Colonel Edward Vernon, kept Ormonde apprised of the impending danger. But, as frequently happens, an accident very nearly frustrated Alden's precautions. The date originally assigned to the plot was the 9th or the 10th of March. The conspirators, however, having reason to believe that the guards stationed at the Castle on March the 5th would not be hostile, suddenly chose the earlier day for their attempt. Alden only discovered how imminent was the peril when

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlvi. f. 16. Sir Henry Bennet to Ormonde, 24th February 1662-3.

Vernon's absence had deprived him of his one means of communication with Ormonde. But, again, the Nemesis that waits on conspiracies stood the Duke's friend. Another plotter turned tell-tale; and instead of surprising the Castle, the conspirators would themselves have been surprised if, in their turn, they had not got wind of the reception awaiting them, and incontinently scattered and fled. Some few, indeed, were caught, but these were the smaller fry, and Ormonde could derive little information from them regarding the more extended scheme of insurrection, of which, as the sequel showed, he was rightly apprehensive.

The plot, having miscarried, proved distinctly useful to Ormonde. It was a pungent commentary on the results of the Commons' attitude; and he did not fail to point out so obvious a moral. Charles, too, did not falter. In fact, he took a resolute tone; and a great number of Irish members having too large a stake in the country to provoke a new revolution also showed proper contrition. They retracted their late denunciation of the Commissioners, declared their detestation of the plot, acknowledged Ormonde's care of the Protestant religion and English interest, and promised their assistance against all "opposers of the King's authority."<sup>1</sup>

Once more the prospect appeared fair. But in truth a more dangerous phase had been inaugurated. The fire was not extinguished, but smouldering. Had Ormonde been inclined to doubt that discontent was widespread amongst the Cromwellian settlers, the reports of the opposition which the restoration of innocent Papists was encountering must have enlightened him. Not only the settlers, but so many of the sheriffs refused to carry out the awards of the Court of Claims in Dublin that Ormonde almost suspected a combination of these officers throughout the kingdom. In fact he was informed, he told Bennet, that

"many of the English had said they would not quit the possession of what they held whatever the Commission

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 131.

should decree, and if they should prove as good as their words, and should oppose these sheriffs that should goe and execute decrees by that power, it is possible or rather certain, that power must consist of Irish, and then to common people," the Duke sadly concludes, "it would look like and, for aught anybody knows, may prove a war between the two Nations."<sup>1</sup>

In such a condition of affairs any spark may light a bonfire. The attempt to seize the Castle testified to mischief latent in the body politic. But Ormonde soon found that he was no longer confronted with a mere handful of desperadoes, but with a thoughtfully designed and largely extended insurrection. Early in May, he could, probably, have laid his hand on some of the conspirators. Being uncertain of the verdict a court of justice would pronounce, he determined, however, to await developments. It would have been a bad thing for the Administration not to be able to bring their guilt home to the schemers, for, as Ormonde said, if these "bold machinations" went unpunished "the Government would never be free of them." In waiting for the enemy to come into the open, the Viceroy knew of course that he was taking risks.<sup>2</sup> But as he characteristically remarked, "I govern myself by the best reason I have, the rather that I am to answer the misguiding of that at the price of my life."

Although the nominal leader of the fanatics was a Colonel Gilbert, or Gibby Carr, recalled from Holland for that purpose, the soul of the insurrectionary movement was once again Thomas Blood. This extraordinary man, whose adventures rival those of Alexandre Dumas' heroes, and whose career was fated to traverse, and, indeed, to threaten that of the illustrious Duke of Ormonde, was of obscure origin. Born about 1628 he is said to have been the son of a miner or blacksmith, but he came into the world at a time when energy and resource coupled to an acute intelligence, untrammelled by scruples or hesitations, were forces no less potent than in the

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. xlvi. f. 22. Ormonde to Bennet, 23rd April 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S. P., Charles II., vol. ii. p. 92. Ormonde to Bennet, 16th May 1663.

Napoleonic era. Either he or his people owed the lands of Sarney, Beatowne, and Foylestone in County Meath, with some less valuable property in Wicklow, to royal grants. But these benefactions did not hinder him from throwing in his lot with the Roundheads. He was rewarded with fresh additions to his rent roll, and at the early age of twenty-two was made a Justice of the Peace by Henry Cromwell. Thus, at the Restoration, Thomas Blood had much to lose. Nor was he the man to submit meekly to decrees unbacked by irresistible power. In the Ulster of that period, D'Artagnan himself would have been powerless without clerical co-operation. Blood's brother-in-law Lackie, or Lecky, a Presbyterian minister, proved the very instrument of which the adventurer stood in need, bringing under Blood's magnetic sway seven influential members of the dispossessed Protestant hierarchy. The civilian element was represented by four lawyers, Shapcott, Reynolds, Whitfield, and Stevens. The ramifications of the plot extended to Scotland, the 25th of May being the date fixed for the simultaneous seizure of various fortresses, including Dublin Castle, Limavaddy, Derry, and Drogheda.

About a fortnight before the appointed day Ormonde despatched a certain Sir Arthur Forbes, a former Lieutenant of Montrose's, to Ulster. Forbes could not spell, but he could observe to some purpose. Lackie's repeated expeditions to and fro, and the carefully subdued sense of excitement pervading the disaffected, put Sir Arthur on the track. As usual, an informer was not far to seek. But it was only forty-eight hours before the attempt was timed to come off, that Forbes was able to give Ormonde a sketch of the projected rising. The real danger lay in the temper of the troops. For instance, Major Staples, Member of Parliament for Strabane, who had undertaken to seize "Derei" (*sic*) could rely on the good-will of the garrison who were his "oulde companie." Forbes was not fainthearted; but he candidly confessed: "how to prevent it, I know not."<sup>1</sup> Nor was he unduly pessimistic,

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxii. f. 274. Sir A. Forbes to Ormonde, Londonderry, 23rd May 1663.

since the arrest of the Member of Parliament for Strabane might not only precipitate matters but was in itself a risky undertaking. "Your Grace's Warrant," wrote Sir Arthur, "is more than nidle to countenane my acksion in case I suckside!" there was not, he added, a troop in all Donegal or Tyrone, he could trust; and until he received Ormonde's sanction he hesitated to make use of the country-folk, "honest" as he believed them to be.

It was fortunate that Forbes had been trained by one of the most dashing officers of the period. Naturally enough, he would have preferred to be covered by Ormonde's ægis, but he also recognised that hesitation would be fatal, and he took the only decision compatible with safety, though it may well have appeared a counsel of despair. He elected to put his trust in the country-folk. They responded to his confidence, and, thanks to their help, Limavaddy Castle was secured. For the arrest of Staples he made use of the few soldiers who yet remained uncorrupted. The attitude of Staples's "oulde companie" was menacing. Once deprived of their chief, however, they did not stir. The capture of Staples was the signal for the flight of the ringleaders, and thus the northern rebellion was strangled ere it had come to life.

In the capital, where, as Forbes warned Ormonde "wone (*sic*) Mister blude was apone the plote," the conspiracy might not have collapsed readily. But, again, one of the principals proved ill-inspired in the choice of confidants.

On May the 19th, as Sir Theophilus Jones, the former Parliamentary General, was walking outside his house, on Lucan Bridge, he was rejoined by an old brother-at-arms, Colonel Alexander Jephson. The two men discussed the chances of Jones's being evicted from Lucan by the Sarsfields, its ancient proprietors. Sir Theophilus declared himself quite easy on that score, but this was a belief Jephson did not wish to encourage. In common with many of his party, he was bent on inducing Jones to

head the insurgents. With this object he therefore remarked that he was less confident, but that should the Court of Claims decide in favour of the Sarsfields, it would be Jones's own fault if he did not repossess himself of Lucan, before "7,000 years be over." Jones's curiosity was aroused by this enigmatic utterance. Further conversation ensued, and before Jephson left Lucan, Jones had become acquainted with the whole design. It was carefully organised. In fact, for "three-quarters of a year," Blood had been elaborating schemes for gaining possession of the Castle and the stores, and thus providing the rebels with the sinews of war. Ultimately he had arranged that at 6 A.M. on the appointed day, six conspirators, under the guise of petitioners to the Lord-Lieutenant, were to enter the great gate and to make their way across the courtyard to the back entrance, leading into Ship Street. Here, another accomplice, attired as a baker and carrying a large basket full of white loaves, was to make his appearance, dropping his load under the very noses of the guard. Blood had calculated that the sentries could not resist the temptation, and that a scramble must inevitably take place. The confederates were then to rush to the help of the sham baker, and while a free fight was going on, Blood and a hundred stout fellows could enter unperceived and possess themselves of the fortress. As soon as it was in their hands, they proposed to hoist a flag on the tower, as a signal to a thousand men in waiting outside. Ormonde's capture and imprisonment would be the next move, although Blood was good enough to declare that the Lord-Lieutenant was to be civilly treated.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile, six ministers, "that went about Dublin in perukes, but laid them by when they were at prayers" would prevent any disorder taking place in the city. A proclamation restoring all English settlers to their holdings, and establishing religion according to the Sacred League and Covenant was simultaneously to be published.

Of men and money the conspirators had no lack.

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 136.

Jephson assured Sir Theophilus that at any moment the bank would honour his draft for £500, and that an army of fifteen thousand Scots would be with them at two days' notice. He wound up by entreating Jones to take the chief command, when, and not until, all these portentous schemes were accomplished. Then, "with many expressions of kindness," the deluded Jephson rode away, leaving his confidant "to set the heads of his discourse on paper, for the help of his memory," and the enlightenment of Ormonde.

Sir Theophilus Jones's report, certainly, did not come amiss to the Lord-Lieutenant. Indeed, the plot was within twelve hours of being executed, when the schemers were arrested. Jephson and Lackie and about twenty ringleaders were caught. Blood, Gibby Carr, and some others, however, got clear away. A reward of £200 was offered for their apprehension, but Blood, protected by his own versatile genius and the terror he inspired, bore a charmed life. In County Antrim he was sheltered alike by the Nonconformist fanatics and by the Catholic peasantry.

In fact, before long, Blood turned the tables on his pursuers. Lord Mount Alexander warned Ormonde to take a larger escort than was his wont when he rode to Dunmore, since Blood openly declared that the death of the Lord-Lieutenant would be more useful to the cause than the seizure of the Castle. Dunmore was a spot propitious to a surprise. And, undoubtedly, the sequel showed that the Colonel was not easily to be baulked of his revenge. In the circumstances, it was already something of a marvel that, with a price set on his head, he could nevertheless publish and scatter broadcast a proclamation of his own composition. In this precious document, he exhorted the righteous to courage, for God's cause would go forward though "the plot was discovered and some executed," adding that "like the primitive Martyrs" every sufferer would make a hundred converts.<sup>1</sup>

It is to be hoped that this strange homily carried

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 138.

consolation to those of his associates, who had been less nimble than Blood ; for, despite his lenity, Ormonde was obliged to let the law take its course in four several instances. By June the 1st, news of the intended insurrection had reached Charles II. ; and Bennet imparted the valuable information to Ormonde that on receiving the intelligence—" His Majesty, before he went early a-hunting this morning, was content to come down to my chamber to read Your Grace's letters."<sup>1</sup> Charles I. is said to have been playing golf when he heard of the Irish Massacre, and to have finished his game, the news notwithstanding. Charles II., following the Royal Martyr's example, did not allow the contents of the Irish mail-bags to interfere with his day's sport. But when he returned from the chase, the Sovereign was further content to bid Ormonde to

"cause severe punishment to be inflicted upon the offenders, and *speedily*, while the remembrance of it is warm in the minds of all his subjects, of which," the Merry Monarch sententiously observed, "there is much need everywhere ! "

Meanwhile, a curious notion had got abroad that it was not treasonable to conspire to seize ports and to levy war, unless forts were actually assaulted and hostilities inaugurated. This was, of course, a pure chimera. Nor can it have needed the long array of texts adduced by the Attorney - General from " Mosaical, Saxon, Norman, and our more modern laws " for its disproof.<sup>2</sup> But Sir William Domville had the gratification of exhibiting his erudition, and eight prisoners were duly sentenced to death. Jephson and two others were promptly hanged, and Lackie would have accompanied them to the scaffold, had he not become apparently stark mad during the trial. At least it is charitable to assume he was feigning insanity to save his neck, since in his frenzy the unhappy minister seems alternately to have seen the devil at his elbow, and

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlvi. f. 26. Sir H. Bennet to Ormonde, 1st June 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 157. Colonel Vernon to Joseph Williamson, 1st July 1663.

believed himself to be none other than the Redeemer. Judges and gaolers were alike puzzled, but when the condemned man nearly dashed his brains out in his cell, he was accorded a reprieve. If his friends had remained quiet, in course of time he would probably have been pardoned, but, apart from Blood, they were a distinctly weak-kneed gang. In November two men, disguised as women, did indeed gain access to the prisoner in Newgate, and having filed Lackie's bolts and dressed him in female garments, got him as far as a niche above the Gateway in Little Thomas Court. Here, however, they were so misguided as to leave him to take care of himself. Seeing a servant pass by, the fugitive politely asked him for a ladder, and when the servant in his turn summoned his master, Lackie ingenuously confessed his identity and begged their aid. Misprision of treason was no venial offence in the year of Grace 1663. Neither master nor man was inclined to incur its penalties for an unknown felon; and Lackie was seized and brought before the Chief Justice. When he was asked what he had to say in his defence, he answered, "he had only escaped because of the hardships and miseries of prison, and thanked God that he was in a better condition to answer for himself than when last in that place." And since, as the record says, he "offered nothing material, sentence was pronounced upon him."<sup>1</sup>

To the bitter end it was written that the wretched man should be tantalised with hopes of escape, and at the gallows a strange scene was enacted. A rumour that his redoubtable relative was coming to rescue Lackie, put sheriff, hangman, and assistants ignominiously to flight. Only the condemned man remained on the scaffold, and if Blood had turned up, his task would have been easy. Unluckily for Lackie, nothing of the kind occurred. After a while, the sheriff plucked up courage and returned, followed by the executioner, and William Lackie was finally hanged.

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 294. A relation of the manner of apprehending W. Lackie on Sunday, 15th November.

The whole episode makes a grim story. Nor can it have diminished Blood's thirst for vengeance against a Government, which had already confiscated his property. According to the procedure of that period, such a step was inevitable. But it is also characteristic of the habits and customs of seventeenth century courtiers that, less than a month after the discovery of the plot, Sir Gilbert Talbot was putting in a plea for Thomas Blood's "small house and £100 a year in the barony of Dunboyne." The Talbots were adepts in the art of attracting any of the flotsam and jetsam, which the troubles of the time brought, even remotely, within their reach. Dick Talbot's correspondence with Secretary Bennet furnishes an index to all the good bargains in "concealed lands" and forfeitures which were going, and which a little knowledge of the ropes and no little sharp practice might secure. Sir Gilbert was not unworthy of being connected with the future Duke of Tyrconnel. For he did not forget to impress on his correspondent—Joseph Williamson, Bennet's secretary—that he relied on getting the order for Blood's estate from the King, "in such a way that the Lord-Lieutenant will respect it."<sup>1</sup>

The exposure and suppression of the conspiracy had undoubtedly strengthened Ormonde's hands. In July Parliament met in a chastened frame of mind. An almost effusive loyalty was shown by the majority, who summarily expelled from their midst seven members concerned in the Plot. Thus the troubles might appear to have been a blessing in disguise to Ormonde, but he recognised too well the discontent pervading nation and army, and his own inadequate means of repression to consider himself relieved from anxiety.

"All the ill people planted here by the usurper, and all the officers and soldiers that have been disbanded since the King's coming in are still here," he reminded Bennet, "and, put together, I doubt they are the greater number of English. There is no money," he continued, "in the Treasury, no victuall in any garrison, or store of

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 133. Sir G. Talbot to Williamson, 13th June 1663.

artillery, and which is worse than all this, if a quarrel be raised and stated to be between the English and the Irish interest, the common soldier could not be trusted, nor would many officers I doubt be overkeen in the service, and God defend us," the unhappy Viceroy concluded, "from a necessity of arming Irish."<sup>1</sup>

Evidently, the one cure for the alarming state of unrest was a belief in the finality of the Land Settlement, but after six months' experience of its workings, it was recognised that the "Great Act" was not an infallible touchstone of merit. Sir William Domville, the Attorney-General, who seems to have had a clearer insight into the question than any one else, told Bennet plainly that "restoration by qualification is found to carry this with it, that many are restored who should not be, and many not restored that should be."<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, although the time for hearing appeals had been extended by Ormonde, the day of Grace was running out. Yet, only a sixth of the claimants had been heard; and besides the long list of petitions awaiting examination there were still some which were only now being gradually reduced to shape. Ignorance and inability on the claimants' part to produce their papers were doubtless responsible for much delay, but these are causes which have always to be reckoned with in such matters. Many of these cases were singularly pathetic. Perhaps, among these, none is more romantic than the tale of two orphans which would, in truth, have afforded a fine field to the imagination of the author of that nursery classic, the "Little Duke." Bereft alike of lands and parents in the course of the wars, one of these boys was finally discovered by a kinsman "keeping calves," while the other was in "no better condition." The Cromwellian settlers who had dispossessed them of their heritage, wrote the indignant relative, had not even had "the charity to do so much for them as to put them to school, whereby they

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. cxliii. f. 164. Ormonde to Bennet, 22nd August 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 269. Sir W. Domville to Bennet, 29th October 1663.

might have known so much as the Lord's Prayer."<sup>1</sup> The poor babes must have sunk to the level of the peasants, who had probably been their best friends, and were naturally quite incompetent to retrieve their fortunes. Indeed, it taxed their protector's skill to achieve the rescue of the estates, imperilled as they were by the claimants' ignorance and want of documents. He might not have achieved his end, if the King had not shown himself merciful, and directed that the lads, sons of men who had died in his service, should have a second, and a "speedy, and favourable hearing."<sup>2</sup> William Mooney and Daniel Carroll were fortunate in their advocate. It is to be feared that in many a similar case, merely for lack of influential friends, the fatherless could obtain no hearing.

Another serious impediment with which the Irish had to contend was the obstinacy of officials. When Irishmen were adjudged innocent the Sheriffs frequently refused to act, unless the Court of Claims' award was backed up by decrees of the Courts of Exchequer or Chancery. Worse than all, however, it was daily becoming clearer that, as Ormonde had said, a new Ireland must be discovered if all claimants were to be satisfied. In these circumstances, it was necessary to obtain fresh powers and fresh directions from Parliament to guide the Commissioners in their task. Throughout 1663 the matter engrossed the attention of Ormonde and his Council. By September the Explanatory Bill was at last drafted, and despatched for revision to England.

The statesmen of the Caroline period, viewed collectively, do not bear a high character. But none, perhaps, have found less favour either with contemporaries or posterity than Henry Bennet, Earl of Arlington. As immoral in affairs of state as George Villiers, he had nothing of the wit and brilliancy that have made Dryden's

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., Ireland, Ch. II., 1663, vol. ii. p. 156. Colonel Grace to Secretary Bennet, 1st July 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P., Ireland, Ch. II., vol. ii. p. 157. King to Commissioner of Settlement on behalf W. Mooney and D. Carroll.

Zimri a household word. No less ready than his colleague Clifford to countersign the treaty of Dover, Bennet, unlike that choleric person, was incapable of sacrificing office to conscience. The man did not redeem the politician. He was a good scholar, noted at College for his gift of reeling off verses. In the civil wars he showed himself a brave swordsman, and in exile a faithful courtier. Yet many others less talented and infinitely less efficient than Bennet are more favourably delineated in the pages of those who loved or quarrelled with them. Of all Kneller's dull portraits, Lord Arlington's is the dullest. We get an impression of a fine coat, a fair wig, and a drab-coloured countenance, on which the well-known bit of sticking-plaster, marking a scar—an honourable scar it must be admitted—is, not excepting a very fishy pair of eyes, the most salient of the features. When we read Henry Bennet's letters, we feel that for once Kneller was true to life. Both on canvas and paper Bennet remains deplorably lack-lustre; thoroughly exemplifying Johnson's dictum that "vice is the natural consequence of narrow thoughts; it begins in mistake and ends in ignominy."<sup>1</sup> Arlington's sins were emphatically of the mean order. The governing factor of his existence was Harry Bennet. For the advancement of that "very little gentleman"—as Ormonde once described him—he sold his country to France. By conviction a Roman Catholic, he professed Protestantism until on his death-bed there remained no suits to proffer save to the King of kings. The sole unselfish affection he seems to have experienced was for his engaging brother-in-law, the Sailor Earl of Ossory. Perhaps it was the outcome of that strange law—the attraction of contrasts. But when Ossory died, Arlington's letter makes one wonder whether, after all, he did not possess a heart.

Immediately on the Restoration, Sir Henry Bennet went as Ambassador to Madrid. Two years later he was recalled, became Privy Seal, and henceforward shared the least reputable secrets of the Monarch. But he was not

<sup>1</sup> *Rambler*, 31st March 1750.

satisfied. He coveted the post of Secretary held by the huffy but excellent Sir Edward Nicholas, and Clarendon mistrusted Bennet as much as he trusted Nicholas. The Chancellor could not, however, compete with the influences of which Sir Henry disposed. The latter became Secretary of State, and in consequence of Clarendon's unavailing opposition remained the Chancellor's sworn enemy. Ormonde had been on good terms with Harry Bennet in Flanders, and although he would have preferred to retain Nicholas as his medium of communications with the King, he took no part in the struggle which divided Whitehall into two camps, and disorganised the public service. When he learnt the appointment, he wrote Bennet a characteristic letter. After telling Sir Henry that he had begged the King to transmit orders through him only, Ormonde added that he felt sure Bennet would regard this request as a congratulation which, he continued, "in this case, I can very freely and heartily make, since he, whose real friend I was and had reason to be, finds his account no less in quitting than you in receiving. If it had been otherwise," said the plain-spoken Duke, "I should have been in pain how to word a letter of this nature."<sup>1</sup>

Insincerity is a disease which too often disqualifies its victims from recognising truth in others. Although Ormonde's words breathed honesty they did not carry conviction to Bennet. Knowing that the Duke belonged to Clarendon's party, he could not believe that, when it came to the King's service, Ormonde resolutely discarded all partisanship. He was, therefore, profoundly suspicious of the Lord-Lieutenant; and, unfortunately, the proofs of "kindness" he demanded were not such as Ormonde felt himself conscientiously enabled to give.

Henry Bennet had a brother, "a worthless mortal," for whom he desired the command of a troop in the Irish Army.<sup>2</sup> When a vacancy occurred, he begged the post of Ormonde, and was not pleased at being informed that the

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 605. Ormonde to Bennet, 19th October 1662.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 149.

Lord-Lieutenant did not see his way to discontent older and deserving officers by putting a stranger over their heads. Nevertheless, he evidently thought that if he chose to make a second application it could not again be refused. When, however, the incident was repeated, and Ormonde still declined to imperil discipline to curry favour with the Secretary, Bennet was indignant. The fact that Ormonde had refused to bestow this very commission on his own son, Lord John, though the youth was recommended for promotion by the King, did not weigh with Harry Bennet. Nor did he, apparently, reflect that Ormonde could obtain no other advantage by his refusal than the discharge of his duty.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, the moral standards of the two men were so different that such a plea must have seemed mere irrelevant cant to the Secretary.

At that period, under a Monarch as indolent as Charles II., the minister at home could make an absent official's position well-nigh intolerable. Ormonde soon found that his letters were not answered, and that no notice was taken of his recommendations. Even the repayment of the sums he had expended on the royal cause was stopped; although, as Ormonde pointed out, it was needed to "save his family."<sup>2</sup> When he expostulated, and, in his usual frank fashion, enquired if he was to attribute this treatment to a misconception on Bennet's part, the Secretary coldly denied the charge. He had not accused Ormonde of actual "unkindness," he said, though he confessed he had yet received but very "obscure effects of the kindness" which all men, including the sovereign — whose interests Ormonde, it must be remembered, was defending—considered he deserved. As to stopping Ormonde's grant, it was done out of pure consideration for the Duke's good fame. For, said the most shameless jobber of that corrupt Court,

"People here murmur to see so many particular claims there accommodated with large grants from the King, yet

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 150. Ormonde to O'Neill.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 65. Lord-Lieutenant to Bennet, 25th April 1663.

if you choose to press it," he graciously added, "I think you will get the grant."<sup>1</sup>

Effrontery could scarcely go further; and it is to be hoped that Ormonde's sense of humour supported him at this juncture. It may well have been on this occasion that he remarked that the minister "expected to be treated as if he had been born with a blue ribbon, forgetting Harry Bennet that was but a very little gentleman." On writing again to Bennet, Ormonde was, however, too wise or too dignified to allow any doubt of the Secretary's halting protestations of friendship to transpire.

"I am glad," he replied, "we have been frank with one another, and to see by your letter of 2nd May that we are still friends. . . . Since you say you remember no letters in your hands unreturned, recommended by me but those three you mention . . . I am satisfied that those which remained in your hands, when I complained to you of it, were not stopped on the grounds I suspected, and there will be less difficulty to persuade me that it will not be easy for any man, without the concurrence of some great fault of my own, to withdraw from me any part of that favour which His Majesty hath made me happy in, which I hope I have given no good man to cause to wish, much less to endeavour, should be lessened."<sup>2</sup>

Ormonde was certainly no mean adept at conveying a rebuke in unexceptionable language. Nor, when he was attacked by the fair sex, was he less felicitous in his rejoinders. Probably, in no circumstances would the Duke have been congenial company to Barbara Villiers, but, natural affinities apart, "the lady," like Harry Bennet, considered that she had a serious grievance against Ormonde. Lady Castlemaine had extorted the gift of the Phoenix Lodge and Park from her royal lover. It was the only summer residence available for the Viceroy, and Ormonde was already planning to devote a portion of the ground to the erection of a military hospital.<sup>3</sup> He therefore stoutly refused to confirm the warrant; and

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. pp. 74-5. Bennet to Ormonde, 2nd May 1663.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 87. Ormonde to Bennet, 13th May 1663.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 152.

he carried his point, though at the expense of the lovely fury's undying hatred.

On Ormonde's return to England, Barbara chanced to meet him at the Palace, and without any manner of regard for the place and company, she

"fell upon him with a torrent of abusive language, loaded him with all the reproaches that the rancour of her heart, or the folly of her tongue could utter, and told him, in fine, that she hoped to live to see him hanged."<sup>1</sup>

It required more than a termagant's rating, however, to discompose James Butler. He heard all unmoved, then sweetly answered, "that he was not in so much haste to put an end to her days, for all he wished with regard to her was that he might live to see her old."

Lady Castlemaine was not the sole lady at Court who insisted on quarrelling with Ormonde. Barbara Villiers's most notable ally in her campaign against the Duke was no less a person than the Queen Mother, who could not forgive Ormonde for his attitude towards her protégé, Randal Macdonnell, Marquis of Antrim.

Since the last mention of his name in this narrative, Antrim's career had been no less varied. His wife, "poor fond Kate," had died during the Civil Wars, and a few years later, he had married another and equally devoted spouse, Rose O'Neill. During the last ten years, he had plotted, he had intrigued, he had chattered, and he had run away with all his ancient vivacity. Cromwell had given him a pension; while his great property of 100,000 acres had been assigned to Lord Massareene and a little company of adventurers and soldiers. Now, with the help of the Queen Mother and other royal personages, he hoped to recover his inheritance. His first attempt was not successful. Charles II. was secretly impatient of the cult of the Royal Martyr, but even he resented Antrim's anecdotes connecting Charles I. with the Irish Rebellion, and the Marquis paid for his indulgence in historical reminiscences by an enforced sojourn in the Tower.

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 153.

After a few months, however, as nothing definite could be brought home to him, he was released and proceeded with his suit, and more by luck than merit, he contrived to run the gauntlet of two judicial enquiries without being pronounced "nocent."<sup>1</sup> In fact, Charles II., believing he was unjustly accused, and moved by the Queen's entreaties, relented so far as to offer to restore his estates, on compensation being found for the actual possessors. But this arrangement did not suit Antrim. Unless he was unconditionally restored, he was aware that he might be kept out of his property for an indefinite period. He therefore concentrated his ambitions on being declared innocent, as this verdict would smooth the way to the immediate enjoyment of his domains.

In the case of another claimant, Lord Dungan, Ormonde's certificate of innocence had quite properly been held to establish the plaintiff's contention. Henrietta Maria now summoned Ormonde to give the same testimony to Antrim. Hitherto, the Duke had purposely abstained from meddling in the business. He happened to be absent from England when Antrim's case had been examined before the Privy Council, and he was glad to be spared the necessity of enlightening that body as to the character of a fallen enemy. But on being desired to give an attestation which he knew to be directly contrary to the facts, feeling such a proceeding to be inconsistent with his sense of honour as an individual, and his duty as Chief Governor, he resolutely declined.<sup>2</sup>

In truth, it is difficult to see how Ormonde could have been expected to stultify both himself and the Act he was called on to administer.<sup>3</sup> Doubtless, as Henrietta Maria protested, Antrim had afforded valuable aid to Montrose in the early stages of the Civil War, though it was equally certain that, from the Royalist point of view, his later record was unjustifiable. Antrim had opposed the two treaties of 1646 and 1648. He had joined the Nuncio and thwarted all Ormonde's attempts to pacify the country. He had impeded the despatch of ten thousand

<sup>1</sup> "Nocent," *i.e.* guilty.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 166.

Ulstermen to the King's assistance. Judged alike by the letter and the spirit of the "Great Act," he was guilty ; and the adventurers detaining his estates neglected no evidence that made this apparent.

Nevertheless, when a recommendation arrived from the King to the Court of Claims in favour of the Marquis of Antrim, the situation was embarrassing both for the Lord-Lieutenant and the Commissioners. Clearly, the letters pointing out Antrim's misdemeanours which Ormonde, in conjunction with his Privy Council, had written, had been ignored, and the Commissioners were doubtful whether the King's letter did not override their general instructions. In this dilemma, the more dignified course for the Commissioners would have been to restore Antrim simply and solely on the King's express command. They preferred to go through the form of an enquiry, which naturally terminated in an award in his favour. Antrim was not, however, suffered to remain the gainer by this decision. The defendants were too numerous and, taking into consideration the provisions of the Act, had too strong a case to be silenced. They petitioned. Once more the suit was brought before the King and Council in England. This time, Charles realised the gravity of the situation. He refused to admit that Antrim had cleared himself of the real charges against him, and recognising that he had given a certificate on imperfect knowledge, he would not allow his personal recommendation to override the law. Antrim avoided another trial only by pleading guilty and throwing himself on the King's mercy. It was the most sensible action of his life. It gave the Sovereign the opportunity to reconcile his own discrepancies by tempering justice with mercy. Antrim was rewarded for his submission by being restored to his estates, a special clause being inserted into the Explanatory Act for this purpose. The whole business had been fraught with trouble to Ormonde and neither side would credit his impartiality. On the one hand, he was accused of ungenerous conduct towards a fallen

adversary, and want of obedience to the King's warrant. On the other, he was suspected of secretly furthering a cause which, outwardly, he opposed. As for the Queen, she never forgave his resistance to her wishes or rather to those of Lord St Albans. Her conduct had, indeed, undergone little alteration since the years of exile. Then, any intrigue in which she shared had its origin in Harry Jermyn. Now, her vehement partisanship for Antrim could be traced to no other source. St Albans's advocacy of Antrim was no more disinterested than the other acts of that successful courtier. It was notorious that the Marquis would never have got out of the Tower, and still less have recovered his estates if he had not taken the precaution to settle the latter on Lord St Albans —a proceeding that explains Jermyn's part in the suit. For once, however, the Queen's friend had found his match in shrewdness. When the clause effecting Antrim's restitution was duly signed and sealed, it transpired that the gift to St Albans was nullified by a previous settlement. Antrim had so carefully and cunningly entailed his property on his natural heir, his brother, Alexander Macdonnell, that the document on which Jermyn's pretensions were based proved so much waste paper.

From a letter written at this period by Ormonde to his nephew, James Hamilton, it is evident that the Lord-Lieutenant fully realised the nature of the obstacles he encountered. He prefaced his remarks with the polite declaration that he did not attribute St Albans's efforts to save Antrim's fortune to any "abatement" of that noblemen's friendship for himself.

"For," says the philosophic Duke, "it were as unreasonable to expect a friend should think always as I do, as that he should have the same voice or coloured beard. . . . But, I confess," he continues, "I cannot find any obligation that was upon the late King or that is upon this to do extraordinary things for my Lord of Antrim, and I am sure there neither were nor are any upon me, but the Queen Mother's commands and my Lord St Albans's interposition, upon both which I set the value I ought. In this particular, and in that of the bill

(Explanatory Act) people take me to be more and otherwise concerned than I am. They know me not and traduce me that say I interiourly wish his restitution, and that though I publicly oppose it, yet privately I assist him. On the other side, they as much mistake me that believe I affect his ruin, and an enmity against him. The first were unchristian; and the other a very pitiful ambition. I have been civil, as I ought to be, to his lady when she made applications to me; and this must be taken for helping her lord. In my despatches, I have fully spoken truth concerning him and his business; and that is taken for hatred of him; but neither truly. My Lord Chancellor Bacon says in one of his essays, that there are men who will set houses on fire to roast their eggs. They are dangerous cattle, if they can disguise themselves under plausible pretences. I have done all I conceive belongs to me to do in the business of my Lord of Antrim. I cannot unsay what I have said in it, till I am convinced of error; but if I be asked no more questions concerning him I can and will hold my peace."<sup>1</sup>

In traffickings such as these Lord St Albans was not singular. The selling of their protection to needy and despairing claimants, became a recognised trade with courtiers. Harry Bennet and Dick Talbot were the head and front of the offenders in this connection. The story of Arlington's acquisition of the Clanmalira estates is unsurpassed even in that catalogue of infamies; and throughout the whole transaction the future Duke of Tyrconnel was Bennet's chief agent. But every one, Commissioners and officials alike, who coveted the minister's good word, were assiduous in the pious work of stripping an innocent man. After the most cursory survey of the records dealing with this case, one cannot but feel that if Jezebel had lived in the Dublin of that day, she would have been put to much less trouble. She need never have murdered Naboth. By a little manipulation of the right strings, that tactless proprietor would have been judged "nocent," and the famous vineyard would have been hers without more ado.

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 187.

The anxiety of claimants to obtain the insertion of a "proviso" for their restitution in the Explanatory Act filled Dick Talbot's pockets. When he crossed to England that summer he carried with him bonds and promissory notes to the value of £18,000. On a smaller scale, Sir Audley Mervyn and Sir Charles Berkeley were proficients in the same business; though, indeed, it would be hard to discover a single official who kept his hands free from picking and stealing. The Commissioners had taken a solemn oath to acquire no property in Ireland, until the work on which they were engaged was completed. But, although Winston Churchill pathetically complained how "dry" was the employment, "clogged with clamour, without any certainty of profit," in the same breath, he expressed the conviction that, with Bennet's aid, he could yet reserve a small remnant for himself "out of the jaws of the Act of Settlement."<sup>1</sup>

In this instance, Churchill had an estate in view, forfeited by a Cromwellian colonel implicated in the "Fanatics' Plot." But to the majority of these sturdy mendicants it was quite immaterial whether they enriched themselves at the expense of Roundhead or Cavalier. To have fought shoulder to shoulder in Flanders, to have starved together in Paris were not recollections, apparently, that mollified the greed of these courtly or bureaucratic Shylocks, when an old comrade's land could augment their pile. They thought themselves ridiculously moderate if they only exacted a year's rent from their clients. In detestation of this systematic bribery, Ormonde seems to have been almost alone. He did his utmost that "merit" should be recognised as "the best rule for the King to distribute his favours,"<sup>2</sup> but it was uphill work, obstructed as he was at every turn by corruption. In his disgust, he abstained, perhaps overmuch, from pleading the cause of his relations and friends. Where, in honour, he could not escape the obligation, he did put forward their claims.

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 104. Winston Churchill to Secretary Bennet, 24th May 1664.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 191-2.

But so anxious was he not to abuse his own influence for reasons that might be considered personal, and thus to seem to condone the misdoings he hourly saw, and could not check, that he did not always insist, as in justice he might, on the claims of some of his kinsmen and allies.

Meanwhile, at Whitehall, the English Privy Council was engaged in tearing the draft of the Explanatory Act to shreds ; and if the various people he had angered could have achieved it, the Lord-Lieutenant's character would have shared the same fate. Charles II. still supported Ormonde, but the King was beginning to weary of the difficulties the work of pacification encountered in Ireland, and to contrast that country, much to its disadvantage, with Great Britain. From that attitude to blaming its Chief Governor was only a step. Ormonde realised he was being manœuvred into the dock, and in a striking and dignified memorandum strove to make the King acquainted with the situation as it was, and as it would be if some of his critics had their own way.<sup>1</sup>

How hard was the Duke's task may best be gauged by the fact that he had to begin by explaining the elements of the Irish position, which, at this hour of the day, the Sovereign should surely have grasped. In England, he reminded Charles there had been but two parties, his own and that of his foes, whereas, in Ireland, both parties had equally opposed the King. Again, in England and Scotland there was no land question. In Ireland, the position was reversed.

"There is some colour," he moreover remarked, "that those who were in possession at your Majesty's restitution, if they contributed to it or acquiesced in it, should pretend to continue to be established in the lands of those that had been in rebellion, and had not, or not with success, redeemed their guilt."

If the Act of Settlement had proved insufficient, and enough time had not been allowed for its labours, the fault lay with many people.

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 311. Mem. by Lord-Lieutenant, 9th December 1663.

"I am content," said Ormonde, "to take my share in remedying its defects and—which is properly my task—to ensure obedience to be given to Your Majesty's determination."

No settlement, however, could, he believed, be carried through except by an act of Parliament. Everything hinged on that bill, but it must be one which an Irish Privy Council and an Irish House of Commons would endorse. He freely admitted that the bill sent for revision in England had many defects. If his skill had been greater, and he could have "prevailed," it would certainly have "been more reasonable and perfect." This, indeed, he desired, if only for the reputation of his own understanding and justice, "how little hope soever I had that it would pass upon the return in the Houses here, if it had been more favourable to the Irish and hurtful to any considerable English interest." For there lay the crux of the matter.

"If those must be laid aside that shall not subscribe to the bill of Settlement but such as will satisfy the Irish, and those that under colour of favouring them do their own business with them, I believe the whole Council must be changed, and, when that is done, the two Houses of Parliament, or the major part of them also."<sup>1</sup>

Dick Talbot and his band of robbers, intent on their own profits, had sought to bolster up Charles with the comfortable assurance that the danger of discontentsing the English was merely a "chimerical fancy, produced by weakness and melancholy upon the big looks and talk of those that would threaten themselves into better conditions." "Those who think this," quietly remarked the Lord-Lieutenant, "have this advantage of me that they may be sure I shall do my utmost to prevent what they say will not happen. I wish I were as sure they would be sorry to see that fall out which I apprehend."

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 313.

He then recapitulated his reasons for dreading a serious issue if the English settlers were threatened with expulsion. The disbanded officers and soldiers alone, would compose a good army. Nor could any reliance be placed on troops imported from England, since the populations of the towns they were sent to garrison would quickly win them over. The picture was gloomy, yet in no wise exaggerated, as the letters and papers of that period amply testify.

The panacea Ormonde proposed for dealing with so many ills was characteristic. It might be summed up in the single word—Honesty. His own aim, he told Charles, was, “to adhere to all the King’s engagements to all parties, but strictly, so that none may have the benefit of them, but such as have a good original, or assigned, title to them.” In dealing with the Irish, he implored Charles so to allot his graces and favours that, in the first place, the “best deserving” might be provided for, and that their own notorious demerit might, alone, justly exclude the ancient hereditary proprietors of the soil, nobles or gentry. He also begged that the work of restitution might be done with the greatest possible promptitude and cheapness, “trials and proofs,” where feasible, being avoided. Such trials, he wisely remarked, “lead to perjury and corruption, and a man cast upon such trials goes away with a moral stigma, which, to say the least, aggravates his material loss.” Ormonde had kept his most unpalatable advice for the last. “If care be taken of the general interests, the stopping of private grants, which diminish the stock for general purposes, will not prevent the passing of an act so composed.”

The King was thus made acquainted with the dangers threatening his kingdom, and the remedies which, in the opinion of its Chief Governor, were best suited to its diseased state. It remained for that Chief Governor, to deal with the accusations specifically or invidiously aimed at himself and his administration. The chief of these, brought by people evidently incapable of statesmanlike consideration, was that Ormonde had benefited former

rebels at the expense of old Royalists—an indictment of which the Duke disposed, with the contemptuous comment, that he “expected as soon to be charged with the late King’s murder.” The truth is that Ormonde seems to have meditated to some profit on the parable of the labourers hired at the eleventh hour. Consequently, he had not scrupled to promote ancient adversaries, who had given pledges of amendment by assisting in the Restoration.

“I thought,” he said, “to appoint them was a good way of showing that the King was ready to forgive all old faults, and anxious to unite all persons of parts in his service. I hear it discoursed,” he continued, “that I love my ease, that I want vigour and resolution in government, and that I have a faulty unwillingness to displease anybody. It is difficult to answer general charges except by general negations. I do love my ease, but never indulge in it to the detriment of the King’s service, which has never suffered by it. That I want vigour and resolution in the King’s service neither requires nor deserves any other answer than that it is false. That I am unwilling to displease anybody when his satisfaction is incompatible with the King’s interest, is known by those, who make such a charge, to be false. They know it,” said Ormonde, goaded at last into taking off the gloves, “by the disappointment of their own unfit pretensions, which, in truth, is the original of their dissatisfactions and calumnations. I may,” he concluded, “have made mistakes, but do not think they have been of consequence. More might have been done and sooner by a wiser man, but I have kept as divided and unsettled a kingdom as is, or I think, ever was, in Christendom, in peace and quietness and ready to receive any reasonable form Your Majesty shall think fit to give it.”<sup>1</sup>

Such was Ormonde’s justification. Charles II. had many faults, but stupidity was not amongst them. And although he elected to live habitually with knaves, he knew an honest man at sight. He had not yet been weaned from his liking for Ormonde. Perhaps he never

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 313.

was, though there came a time when he successfully concealed his affection for James Butler. Anyhow, it should be accounted for righteousness to Charles Stuart that, on this occasion, at least, he left Ormonde in no doubt as to his sentiment; and that, despite his inveterate laziness, he seems to have reassured the Duke by return of post. For already on December the 29th Ormonde was writing to acknowledge the King's letter of the 15th, which, he gratefully says,

"brought me a confirmation of what, before, I was in no doubt of; and yet it was far from being unnecessary, since nothing supports a servant in the difficulties and thwartings he meets with in the honest discharge of his duty, so much as an assurance that his endeavours are believed to be faithful, and accordingly, accepted by his master; and it is natural enough to love to be told we are happy, though we knew it before."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 322. Ormonde to King, 29th December 1663.

## CHAPTER III

### THE EXPLANATORY ACT AND THE CATTLE BILL

IN November, the English Privy Council began to examine the draft of the Explanatory Act, but for a long time they did nothing beyond condemning its proposals. As usual, each side entered objections to the clauses that seemed to threaten its particular interests ; and the wrangles thus engendered threatened to be interminable.

In these circumstances, Charles grew impatient for Ormonde's presence at Whitehall, though until some provision had been made for cashiering the disaffected soldiers in the Irish army, and replacing them with more reliable troops, it was clearly inexpedient for the Duke to leave his post. Ultimately, the war in Portugal furnished a pretext for weeding out the dangerous element in the forces. A thousand troopers were shipped to the Continent, and, by Christmas, five hundred Englishmen had taken their places in Ireland. In May 1664, Ormonde was enabled to depute the Government to Lord Ossory, and the month of June found him installed in a hired house at Chelsea.

In August 1664 commenced a serious of consultations between the Duke and such Irish Privy Councillors and Commissioners as could be mustered in that neighbourhood ; but it was not until the 26th of May 1665, that the bill was completed.<sup>1</sup> It may be well—although it is anticipating events—to state at once the results of these deliberations.

Something of their pretensions, all parties eventually

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 207.

were driven to resign. In order to be confirmed in two-thirds of the properties they had held in May 1659, soldiers, adventurers, and nominees agreed to relinquish the remaining portion. Purchasers of land in Connaught also retained the same proportion of the holdings that had been theirs in September 1663; while the "forty-nine officers" were confirmed in the entirety of their actual possessions. It was hoped that the addition of twenty "nominees," each to recover the family mansion and 2,000 acres, would provide for the most deserving individuals. So much clamour, however, had arisen over Charles's previous choice of nominees that the King now determined to shuffle off the odium of the selection on Ormonde. There was little fault to find with the Duke's decisions, but, naturally, every gentleman, not of the elect, considered himself aggrieved and visited his resentment on the erring Lord-Lieutenant.

The Act stipulated that a third of the royal grants should be deducted from the grantees for the benefit of the general reprisal fund. There were, however, exceptions to this rule. No retrenchments were practised on the Duke of York's lands, or on those of the Duke of Albemarle, Lords Anglesey, Orrery, and Mountrath; Harry Bennet, it is perhaps unnecessary to say, being equally favoured. On the contrary, Ormonde suffered considerably, though voluntarily, by the Explanatory Act.

At an earlier date,<sup>1</sup> when the fund for reprisals threatened to be exhausted, the Duke of Ormonde had surrendered his pretension to £70,000, the moiety of the arrears on his official appointments prior to the Restoration. He now made a greater sacrifice. Uncertainty as to the value and extent of the forfeitures vested by the Act of Settlement in Ormonde, stood in the way of an exact estimate of the sums available for the general scheme of compensation. And so lengthy was the process of appraisement, that meanwhile many claimants ran the risk of being ruined. It was therefore proposed that the Duke should compromise his claims

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 211.

for a yearly rent of £5,000. On referring the matter to his lawyer and agent, that worthy gave excellent reasons for computing these rights, actual and potential, at an income averaging from £26,000 to £27,000. Ormonde was, however, determined that the "settlement of the whole Kingdom should not be delayed for his particular benefit or interest,"<sup>1</sup> and he intimated that he would content himself with £50,000 paid down. Even at that period this sum scarcely represented the capital of £5,000 a year, but Ormonde had honourable as well as personal reasons for preferring ready money. The large loans he had guaranteed or raised during the Civil War were still unpaid. Charles II., it is true, had sought to protect him from pursuit by his creditors by making over to him such of the bonds as were held by forfeited persons. "But this was not the Duke of Ormonde's way of wiping out debts."<sup>2</sup> He had accepted the grant partly as a means of staving off ruin until he could fulfil his obligations, partly to enable him to effect equitable arrangements, where exorbitant interest was demanded. No sooner did he obtain possession of the £50,000, than he straightway directed his agents to pay his creditors, in some cases, their full dues, in all others, a just composition, Irish creditors being proffered the choice of being paid in land. To the present generation it may well seem that no other line of conduct was open to Ormonde, but such an opinion would argue scant knowledge of the moral standards of that age. In contemporary France, when a gentleman evinced a desire to pay his tradespeople, so curious an aberration could only be explained as a symptom of *un miracle de la grâce*—or, in evangelical phraseology, a religious "conversion." In England and Ireland, great folk were hardly less ready to shelter themselves behind the privileges of a great position. The Manor of Ardfinnan had long been reckoned part and parcel of the Butler domains. The Bishop of Waterford, however, having advanced a claim upon Ormonde, the Duke promptly referred the

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 217.

case to Bramhall's decision;<sup>1</sup> and when the award was given against him not only cheerfully acquiesced but, unsolicited, made over all the retrospective profits connected with Ardfinnan to the Bishop. The Primate's gratified amazement at Ormonde's unprompted action makes an eloquent commentary on the current financial ethics.

Perhaps his own scrupulous rectitude made Ormonde unduly optimistic regarding other high and mighty personages; if so, he was destined to be rudely disillusioned. By the Act of Settlement, the Regicides' properties, amounting altogether to 169,431 acres, had been assigned to the Duke of York.<sup>2</sup> Much of this land had originally belonged to the ensignmen, who had fought under James in Flanders. It was therefore expected that he would show a certain measure of generosity to his old comrades-at-arms. But the very reverse occurred. For whenever the King remitted a forfeiture on a Regicide's estate, James demanded compensation elsewhere. The matter became so great a scandal that Ormonde felt it his duty to protest. He told Clarendon that under this pretext

"many persons that I am sure (the Duke) would restore to their own, or, at least, make his tenants, if he knew their case, will be absolutely ruined and their families. It is true that if the grant were not the Duke's, it might so fare with them. But I should think that those that fell into his hands should be in better case than those that have to do with the most hard-hearted adventurers or soldiers, especially if they suffer by the severity of the Act, or only for want of reprisals; and it may be worthy of your relation to him, and concernment in the prosperity of his posterity to propose some moderation in such cases."<sup>3</sup>

In reply, James appointed three agents to manage his estates, whom at a later period Ormonde ceremoniously begged His Royal Highness's pardon for describing as

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlvi. f. 69. Lord Primate to Ormonde, 24th September 1652.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., "Report," p. 170.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem.* Ormonde to Clarendon, 11th October 1662.

the "worst under-instruments he could well light on."<sup>1</sup> Ormonde might, perhaps, be suspected of moral fastidiousness. The same impeachment could not be brought against Winston Churchill. Yet, the latter was so outraged by the impudence of this same trio, that, speaking from the Bench, he called them "a pack of knaves and cheats." And when one of their number, Captain Thornhill, came to Churchill's lodgings to extort an apology, an almost comic scene of violence occurred. Instead of making his peace with the heir presumptive's representative, as prudence required, Winston fiercely demanded how long it was since Thornhill had become "so squeasy stomached that he could not brook being called knave? you shall have it under my hand!" he cried, and called his man to fetch pen and ink.<sup>2</sup> But before the servant could obey, his wrath had waxed to such a pitch, that the Captain "seeing the necessity of either running down the stairs, or being thrown down, as the least of two evils, elected the former."

During the year Ormonde now spent in England, he divided his time between Chelsea and Moor Park, which he had purchased five years previously from the Bishop of Rochester for "such starts of retirement" as circumstances permitted. From Lord Anglesea's description, Moor Park must have been a perfect specimen of those formal pleasures and gardens, stately and spacious, breathing leisure and the love of things rare and beautiful, of which our forefathers had the incommunicable secret. The gardens, says Lord Anglesea, were "extraordinary, full of delightful walks and fountains, and terraces with covered walks for rainy weather."<sup>3</sup> The park was "set out into walks shaded with trees set in rows," while a "fair brick lodge, that hath the prospect of most of the Park and country," provided an ideal retreat for meditation or study to a weary statesman. Anglesea anticipated that the Duke would find when he "could refresh himself

<sup>1</sup> *Carte MSS.*, "Report," p. 171. Ormonde to Mr M. Wren, Dublin, 24th December 1668.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 179. Captain Cooke to Ormonde, 6th June 1668.

<sup>3</sup> *Ormonde MSS.*, vol. iii. pref. ix. Anglesea to Ormonde, 8th September 1663.

for a few days with the country air," he could do it nowhere better than at Moor Park. And the number of Ormonde's letters, that bear the date of Moor Park show that Anglesea's prophecy was justified.

The next twelvemonth was crowded with events of domestic importance to Ormonde. In September 1664 his second son, Richard, recently created Earl of Arran, married Lady Mary Stewart, the only surviving child of James, Duke of Richmond, and Lady Mary Villiers, "Steenie's" daughter. Few brides of the period can have brought the promise of greater wealth to their husbands than did Lady Mary. Sole heiress to her father's honours and possessions, it seemed probable that as her uncle, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was childless, she would also succeed to his property. But Lord Arran was not only fortunate in his wife's dowry. During her short life she was the joy and happiness both of himself and his family. Arran adored her. Ormonde described her as a blessing to his family. And the Duchess, who was less easily satisfied in the matter of daughters-in-law than her good-natured lord, did not, in this instance, dispute his judgment. "Although never used to exaggerate matters," she pronounced Lady Arran to be "the best and most accomplished person she ever knew."<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, whatever were Lady Ossory's shortcomings, at any rate, she fulfilled that duty which is often considered most essential in the heir's wife. Emilia had already borne one son to Ossory; and although her little James did not long survive his birth, the family were quickly consoled by the advent of another boy. This child, the future Duke of Ormonde, whose brilliant youth was to know so tragic an eclipse, was born on the 29th of April 1664 at Dublin Castle.<sup>2</sup> Ossory was then Lord-Deputy, and no prince of the blood royal could have had a more pompous inauguration of existence than was accorded to

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> *Cal. S.P.*, vol. ii. p. 579. Major Rawdon to Viscount Conway, 10th May 1665.

his son. The infant had two Archbishops to baptize him, and to give him, as was fitting, his illustrious grandfather's name.

Readers of Gramont—and who has not laughed over that sprightly chronicle!—will remember the adventures, amorous and farcical, of which Elizabeth Butler, the “greenstocking” Lady Chesterfield, is the heroine. Indeed, the Duke of York’s wooing of the lady, her encouragement of the prince, James Hamilton’s jealousy and alliance with the suspicious husband, and the revenge she took on her faithless gallant, are episodes too well known to need recalling. So accomplished a raconteur as Gramont probably disdained an over-nice precision. Nevertheless it must be admitted that his account of Lady Chesterfield’s hurried and penal exodus to Bretby is confirmed by Pepys. The latter’s tale, it is true, is many degrees milder than Gramont’s, who leaves us in no doubt as to Lord Chesterfield’s well-grounded reasons for removing his wife from the Duke of York’s neighbourhood. Whereas, in the “Diary,” Lady Chesterfield figures as a “virtuous lady,” with whom James, Duke of York, is “so smitten in love” that her departure is a necessary concession to the Duchess of York’s jealousy; “At all which,” Pepys sententiously remarks, “I am sorry; but it is the effect of idleness, and having nothing else to employ their great spirits upon.”<sup>1</sup>

Gramont assures us that public sympathy was entirely with Elizabeth. All the mothers vowed to God that none of their sons should ever set foot in Italy, lest they should,<sup>2</sup> like Lord Chesterfield, “bring back with them that infamous custom of laying restraint upon their wives.” Lady Chesterfield’s relations, he adds, were alone “serious and cold to the complaints she made to them.”<sup>3</sup> This latter statement seems, however, somewhat doubtful. At that juncture, both the Duke and Duchess were absent in Ireland. And although Lord Arran was in town, yet, since Lord Chesterfield loudly accused him of having promoted the Duke of York’s passion for his sister, he

<sup>1</sup> Pepys, ed. H. B. Wheatley, vol. ii. p. 384, 3rd November 1662.

<sup>2</sup> Gramont, vol. ii. p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 35.



ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF CHESTERFIELD.

From a picture by Lely at Chevening.



may have judged it wiser to abstain from meddling in the matter. But when the Duke and Duchess realised the situation—different as was their code from that generally accepted in the Merry Monarch's Court—it is evident they thought their daughter deserving rather of pity than of blame. In his perplexity Ormonde, through Bennet, seems to have called the King into his domestic councils.

"I am in difficulties," he wrote, "about my daughter, Lady Chesterfield, Lord Chesterfield's extravagant proceedings must deprive him of the esteem and opinion of all sober men. I do not know," the Duke continued, "how to govern myself to redeem my daughter from the afflicting life that seems to be prepared for her, and my Lord of Chesterfield (for whose person and disease I have kindness and compassion) from that scandalous state he has brought himself to. My daughter's condition will not admit of her coming over, and if she did come, and without him, it would look, and perhaps prove, a separation. I shall hope to get him relieved of court attendance altogether, and if I can manage a scheme I shall ask for your support."<sup>1</sup>

If it may be said that, as a man of the world, Ormonde might perhaps regard Lord Chesterfield's "extravagant proceedings" as more serious than their pretext, this argument would not apply to Elizabeth Ormonde. In Charles II.'s time, many virtuous matrons, doubtless, apologised for the frailties of their friends in the spirit of Tartuffe's famous pronouncement. The Duchess's simple creed, however, admitted of no compromises with morality; though her behaviour to Lady Isabella Thynne shows her to have been no fanatic for the proprieties. But when faced with a clear issue, even where it would have been greatly to her advantage to compound with wrong-doing, she was inexorable. In fact she might almost be said to have anticipated the ethics we are accustomed to denominate Early Victorian. "She was very stiff with regard to the King's mistresses."<sup>2</sup> Nor could she be

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 10. Lord-Lieutenant to Bennet, 17th January 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 665.

induced to "wait" on their graces of Cleveland or Portsmouth. The former never forgave the slight. The latter, very sensibly, pretended not to notice the omission, and went out of her way to show respect to the Duchess of Ormonde. On these occasions, Elizabeth received Louise de Kuéroualle with that "art of civility" in which Petty declared she excelled.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless she was careful that her young grand-daughters should not assist at these meetings.

"She seemed to instruct them not so much as to admit of visits from ladies of such a character. Thus, one day in 1682 when she was in a house the Duke had taken near the Court, which was then at Windsor, the Duchess of Portsmouth sent word that she would dine with her. This notice was no sooner received, than Her Grace of Ormonde sent away her granddaughters, the Lady Anne Stanhope, afterwards Countess of Strathmore, the Lady Emilia Butler, and her sister to London for that day, to be out of the way; so that there was nobody at table but the two duchesses and the present Bishop of Worcester, who was then domestic Chaplain to the Duke of Ormonde."<sup>2</sup>

It is almost incredible that such a woman as Elizabeth Ormonde should have reserved her blame for Lord Chesterfield, if she thought he had just cause to complain of her daughter. And that she considered him in the wrong is clear from a deprecatory letter addressed to her by her son-in-law.

"MADAM," wrote that courtly nobleman, "After the having been so long in a mist of misfortunes and the being so misunderstood that I hardly hoped to refind the way to Your Grace's favour, it was far from an unwelcomed light that I received by Your Ladyship's letter; whereby I see you are pleased to suspend a judgment which, if once given, I should no longer plead but condemn myself. Madam, I doe not love the remembrance of old griefs, and yet the best way of curing wounds is to search their bottoms, and when that has once been done before your Ladyship and my lord I should freely forgive the uneasiness they have put mee to. Madam, my lord's invitation

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Petty," p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 666.

of us into Ireland I hope will put a period to this and other discourses, that have had much too large a circumference, and intitle me, by a justification to resume that kindness with which Your Grace was formerly pleased to honour.—Madam, your obedient servant,

“CHESTERFIELD.”<sup>1</sup>

Undoubtedly, the conjugal affairs of Lord and Lady Chesterfield were more complicated than Gramont would make us believe, but whether owing to the drastic candour advocated by Lord Chesterfield, or to Elizabeth's personal attractions, to all outward seeming, husband and wife made up their quarrels at Bretby. And there, save for a journey to Kilkenny on the occasion of Lady Mary Butler's marriage, they remained. In 1664, they received a visit from the Duke and Duchess, a visit Ormonde utilised for the purpose of administering good advice to Elizabeth Chesterfield. He seems to have been troubled about her friendship with an unnamed lady at this period. At any rate, he was insistent that she should keep this person out of the house, Lady Chesterfield protesting her ready obedience to his commands; and, indeed, no daughter ever wrote in a more uniformly submissive strain.<sup>2</sup> In return, it was to the Duke that she appealed when in financial straits, for although she vowed that she would not have troubled Ormonde if “my lord's tenants were so just as to pay their rents at the time appointed,”<sup>3</sup> it was of her father and not of her husband that she begged £400 to discharge a gambling debt to Lady Essex.<sup>4</sup>

During the next few months, Ormonde continued to receive letters from Lady Chesterfield. Affectionate as are these epistles, they throw, however, little light on the conditions of her existence at Bretby, save that she rather piteously entreats Ormonde to take her with him to

<sup>1</sup> “Memoirs of Lord Chesterfield,” p. 23. Lord Chesterfield to Duchess of Ormonde, 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 181. Elizabeth, Lady Chesterfield, to Ormonde, 24th September 1664.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 183, 6th November 1664.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, p. 180. Elizabeth, Lady Chesterfield, to Ormonde, 27th August 1664.

Ireland. Then, in July 1665, comes the end, startling in its abruptness. She was taken very ill at Buxton and expired there quite suddenly. Officially, her decease was ascribed to the plague, unofficially, it was said that her jealous lord was the true cause of her death. It was even whispered that when the pair, as a pledge of entire and perfect reconciliation, were partaking together of the Communion, the poison was administered in the Sacramental Wine. Such diabolical villainy was not unknown in the lands where Philip Stanhope had grown to manhood, but the Englishman Italianate was a product rather of the Renaissance than the Restoration, though charges of poisoning were still as frequent, as they were difficult for contemporary science to disprove. Undoubtedly, Lord Chesterfield,<sup>1</sup> who had mourned his first wife with a grief akin to despair, gave no sign of regret for Elizabeth Butler. But this is slender evidence on which to base an accusation of murder.

Without going so far as poisoning her, Chesterfield may have found Elizabeth distinctly troublesome, and his silence is therefore not inexplicable. It is more curious that among the voluminous Butler archives there should be scarcely any reference to the tragedy. A short note of the Duke's apologising to Bennet for having left town "in consideration of my wife, whose tenderness and passion for her daughter, might, I supposed, receive some abatement by my presence,"<sup>2</sup> and the mention to Lady Clancarty of the "increase of misfortune, by the death of my daughter Chesterfield," are the only allusions to be found to so great a tragedy. The contrast between the lamentations over her brother's death is great, and almost leads us to think that Elizabeth Chesterfield had

<sup>1</sup> It would seem from the following letter of Lord Chesterfield's in reply to Ormonde's letter of condolence on the death of his third wife, Lady Elizabeth Dormer, that his sorrow on this occasion was not less than when his first wife died. "My dear Lord," he writes, "all my comforts are gone, and though afflictions are as natural to man as the sparks flying upward, yet this, in all circumstances, has been so terrible and unusual that I am not ashamed to own that my forces do so sink under it, that death, if Heaven please, seems the best remedy to so deplorable a condition." (Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. pp. 54-5. Earl of Chesterfield to Ormonde, 24th October 1677.)

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 606. Ormonde to Bennet, 17th July 1665.

passed away, unmourned and unwept by her own kith and kin.

Death was busy with Ormonde's nearest and dearest that summer. In June it fell to his share to announce to his sister, Lady Clancarty, the death of her eldest son, Lord Muskerry, in the great naval battle of the 3rd of June.<sup>1</sup> He was "a young man of extraordinary courage and expectations, and had the general estimation of an excellent officer," says Clarendon. When he fell, he was standing so near the Duke of York that the prince was deluged with his blood. Only two months later, Ormonde was again charged with heavy tidings for the same sister. Lord Clancarty, the chivalrous Muskerry of the Irish wars, had died after a fortnight of great suffering.

"With what grief and fear for you, I come to this office of acquainting you with the death of your Lord, and my dear brother," he confesses, "is more sensibly felt by me, than seen by others. I have lost the only person in the world, from whom I never did or ever would have concealed the greatest secret of my soul, and that without hope of ever recovering the loss."<sup>2</sup>

After an exhortation to resignation which, though habitual to the letters of condolence of that period, bears the stamp of individual and genuine conviction, Ormonde proceeds :

"You will receive better assurance than I can give you that he wanted nothing that might to his recovery, to the settlement of his fortune, or for the disposing of himself to die as a Christian, of the persuasion he was. And I must own," says the Protestant Duke to his Catholic sister, "that I was more careful in this than in anything else, well knowing I could not give him or you a greater argument of my kindness and concernment; and not doubting that it is the part of a good Christian to help another to end, like one, in his own way; nor yet believing," he adds, in words than can bear quoting anew,

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 181. Ormonde to Lady Clancarty, 9th June 1665.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 182. Ormonde to Lady Clancarty, 5th August 1665.

"that the mercifull God hath so limited His Salvation as passionate and interested men have done. That good and eternal God give you consolation and a constancy in your affliction, and to us all grace here and glory hereafter."

In the autumn of 1665 Ormonde was back again at his post. Landing at Duncannon on September the 3rd he found Ossory awaiting him, and father and son then proceeded to Kilkenny, where Ormonde spent a month before opening Parliament in Dublin.<sup>1</sup> Doubtless that month was not wasted, for many negotiations were needful before the Explanatory Bill could be passed through a recalcitrant House of Commons. Even Orrery, who was skilled in "lobbying," seems to have despaired of bringing it to a successful issue. Discontent was rife throughout the island; and the fear of a Dutch raid, abetted by native or English malcontents, was no idle imagination. Nothing but satisfaction was, however, visible on the day of Ormonde's state entry into Dublin. He was welcomed by a band of young gentlemen, clad in suits of "ashcolour, trimmed with scarlet and silver, and all in white scarves."<sup>2</sup> As a variation on the boy orator who had harangued him at his first entry, the Viceroy was now confronted at every turn by the gods and goddesses of antiquity, Ceres "under a canopy attended by four virgins,"<sup>3</sup> being kept in countenance by Vulcan and several Cyclops, while Bacchus—most appropriately, since the Mayor had devoted over £100 to his rites—was very much in the foreground. Fireworks, salvoes of great and small shot, and unbounded enthusiasm completed the order of the day.

The atmosphere of the House of Commons was, it must be owned, less highly charged with amiability. The majority of members viewed the Explanatory Act as an attempt to advantage "the Irish interest" at their expense. Had they not given Ormonde a weapon against themselves by their late intrigues with the fanatics, he

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. pref. xxx.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. pref. xxx.

would probably have been forced to dissolve Parliament and proceed to a fresh election on a new electoral basis. The mere threat of such a course was, however, as salutary as the fear of an invasion by Louis XIV.<sup>1</sup> The Grand Monarque's declaration in favour of the States had been indeed, well timed to dispose the House "to get over all the little scruples, which lay in the way of settlement, in order to provide the better for the general security." Nevertheless, certain clauses inspired so much apprehension that if Ormonde had borne a less honourable character for sincerity, it might have gone hard with the fruit of his years' labours. His assurance that, in conjunction with the Council, he could and would amend any defects that really contravened the intention of the Act, happily commanded belief, while irritation was allayed by concessions on various minor details.

It was well that Ormonde was thus able single-handed to conjure the tempest, for, at this crisis, the gout had incapacitated both his lieutenants, Orrery and Anglesea, "tormented in their feet," wrote Churchill, "but more in their heads, who keeping their chambers, as I did my cabin in the late great storm, dreaded the effect of every wave, I mean of every vote."<sup>2</sup>

Orrery and his colleague were certainly not unduly timorous. For when on the 16th of December it was put to the question whether Ormonde's answer was satisfactory, it seemed doubtful whether blows would not forestall votes.

"The humour was most virulent, the Members confronting each other with swords half drawn, and with words sharper than they; some being heard to say that the lands they had gotten with the hazard of their lives should not now be lost with ayes and nos."

Churchill declares that the Duke alone could have prevented the measure being wrecked.

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 230.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 699. Sir Winston Churchill to Lord Arlington, 27th December 1665.

"By an eloquence (peculiar to himself) seemingly unconcerned, but certainly extemporary, he so charmed their fears and jealousies that they that were most displeased with the bill were yet so pleased with the overtures he had made them, that when it came to pass, it had only one negative."

Demosthenes, himself, could not have achieved a more signal triumph, but Sir Winston was mistaken in attributing the Government's success to Ormonde's eloquence. In truth, Ormonde was no orator. He was the soul of honour, and, in supreme crises, his audience appreciated the fact.

Thus the Explanatory Act became law.<sup>1</sup> Carte declares that it was invaluable in quieting the country; and, undoubtedly, it gave a much needed sense of finality in agrarian legislation, while the establishment of fixed rules for the distribution of property was a useful restraint on the Commissioners. Moreover, in doubtful cases when the latter hesitated to adjudicate, a right of appeal was reserved to the Lord-Lieutenant in Council. These alterations were all to the good. Against them should be set the hardships entailed on a section of the nation, and that not the smallest. Ormonde said that the Explanatory Act was the most favourable measure for the "English interest" that could either with honesty or modesty be contrived.<sup>2</sup> Favourable it undoubtedly was. Its honesty and modesty might be challenged with good reason by many an Irishman, though if gifted with almost super-human impartiality, he might have admitted that it was the best bargain that could be driven with opponents who held both the purse and the sword.

The Court of Claims was now closed, although three thousand Roman Catholics were still unheard; and the new Court of Claims only remained open for another two years.<sup>3</sup> This was no doubt a considerable extension of the period originally assigned for hearing suits. Never-

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> Father D'Alton, "History of Ireland," vol. ii. p. 372.

theless it was too short. When on January the 3rd, 1669, the second tribunal was dissolved,<sup>1</sup> the sole channel of relief for unsatisfied nominees and distressed Irish was an application either to the Sovereign in person or his Viceroy, for a grant of "concealed" or mortgaged lands forfeited to the Crown. Unluckily, even on these remnants of property, Protestant adventurers had the first claim, and nominees, who should have been restored to their mansion-house and domain in 1666, owing to want of reprisals for the detainer of their lands, were still homeless in 1678.<sup>2</sup> A volume could only too easily be compiled on the hardships these unfortunate gentlemen suffered both on this account and from the corruption of officials.<sup>3</sup> Very often these poor men gave a quittance in full for the sum due to them, when, in truth, they had only received a third. Lord Anglesea was one of the chief sinners concerned in these transactions, and so was Sir Daniel Bellingham, who, the Commissioners complained, did not seem to apprehend how "haynous" was his offence.

Lord Castleconnell's case gives a notion of the blackmail levied by these bureaucratic vultures.<sup>4</sup> Ormonde had promised him an allowance of £1,000 a year until he was restored to his estate, and Sir Daniel, when under the eye of authority, had agreed to collect the money by Christmas. Yet, when the time came round, Castleconnell only obtained £20, Bellingham excusing himself on the plea of obtaining Anglesea's confirmation of the payment. By April, when Castleconnell made a piteous appeal to Ormonde's compassion, he was reduced to pawning his clothes for £20, his little stock having been seized for rent, and his wife and children being threatened with the loss of "house and home."

Castleconnell and his companions in adversity were noblemen or men of quality, many of them personally acquainted with the King and his brother—now one of

<sup>1</sup> Carte, "Report," p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> Prendergast, "Tory War of Ulster," p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxv. p. 225. Castleconnell to Ormonde, 3rd April 1667.

their worst oppressors. What must then have been the condition of the obscure gentleman or the small squire, when his betters went starving? But we need not ask. Those were happy whose bones whitened the battlefields of Europe. The high spirited, who remained in Ireland, drifted into Toryism. The less energetic lingered on in their old neighbourhood, thankful when the Priest at Mass would recommend them to the charity of their former tenants, or "importuning hard from time to time the Englishman that is in possession of what they had, and thus they bring the year about."<sup>1</sup> Small wonder that the same observant writer adds: "here lies the matter most capable of combustion, and it hardly can be expected it should be otherwise."

Immediately on his return to Ireland, Ormonde had written to Arlington:

"That which looks most threateningly upon us is the poverty of this people, a poverty so great and so apparent that, in good earnest, I doe not see how it will be possible for them to pay what the Parliament will charge them with for the supply of the defect of the King's revenue."<sup>2</sup>

Ormonde anticipated that the want of money might even interfere with the administration of justice, and that, it would most certainly make it impossible to discharge the salaries either of the army or the civil service. There were only two ways, he held, in which the dangers threatened by the condition of the Treasury could be averted from the State: the repeal of those clauses in English acts of Parliament that obstructed Irish trade, or a yearly remittance of £30,000 from England to Ireland. Unluckily, neither remedy was to the liking of the English public.

It will be remembered that the sole branch of Irish commerce, that Ormonde had found prosperous, and

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS., Egmont MSS., vol. ii. p. 115. Sir R. Southwell to Sir John Perceval, 16th May 1682.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 642. Ormonde to Arlington, Kilkenny, 18th September 1665.

giving promise of improvement, was the cattle trade. It was, indeed, too flourishing, since it aroused the envy of the shallowpated farmers and breeders of stock in England. These worthies unhesitatingly ascribed the deterioration of home trade and the fall in rents to the influx of Irish beeves. Their representatives at Westminster, every whit as ignorant and prejudiced, greedily swallowed the tale. In 1663, a clause prohibiting the importation of fat cattle into England during six months of the year was consequently tacked on to a bill for the encouragement of trade, and rushed through Parliament. Since Ireland was already debarred by statute from exporting wool, her only other valuable commodity, to the Continent, where it would have commanded a profit 50 per cent. greater than in England, this was equivalent to sentencing the sister country to perpetual poverty.<sup>1</sup> During his visit to London, Ormonde, briefed by the Irish Privy Council, had pointed out that the measure would not only grievously impoverish Ireland but would indirectly be harmful to England. At that period, however, political economy was not a science to which the majority of statesmen paid even the compliment of lip service. It is true that Charles II. who, in the jargon of the day, possessed a "good working brain," realised that if Irish commerce was crushed, England would lose a convenient market. For without any benefit accruing to the English landlord or grazier, neither raw material, like Welsh coal, nor superfluities, like Canary wine, hats, and "fine stuffs," would any longer find purchasers across the Irish Channel. But although he had the power of dispensing with any clause in the bill that threatened genuine commercial interests, he would not risk the displeasure of a noisy band of politicians. To put it plainly, Charles wanted a grant and durst not disoblige his paymasters. The obnoxious provision consequently remained on the Statute Book, to the hurt of Ireland, and the despair of her governors.

This was the state of affairs when Ormonde arrived

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 235-42.

in Ireland in the latter part of 1665. But bad as it was, there was worse to come. During the Parliament which met at Oxford that October, Sir Richard Temple brought in a bill to prohibit under very heavy penalties, not merely the importation of fat cattle, but of all beasts, sheep or pigs, dead or alive. It was enthusiastically received by the House of Commons, who, when the Act reached Committee stage, would scarcely go through the form of listening to arguments against it, although these were backed by the expert knowledge of Sir William Petty and Robert Boyle.

Great as was Ormonde's experience of party passion, he could not bring himself to believe that so unjustifiable a measure would become law. But in a strain of unusual bitterness, he wrote to Arlington, saying that he was not sorry the subject had been brought forward,

"not only because the things Sir Richard Temple brings in have been observed to have ill-luck, but because it may give a natural opportunity to those that look beyond their own grounds and sheep-walks, to put the House in mind that Ireland is one of the King's Kingdoms, and the people are his subjects, of whose welfare he is obliged to have some care, and to see them used with some measure of equality."<sup>1</sup>

The sequel proved that Temple was less unlucky, and public opinion more demoralised than Ormonde had thought possible. After a few days' debate, the bill passed the Lower House. With the Lords it was somewhat more lengthily discussed, though if Parliament had not been prorogued before Report stage was reached, Charles's assent would then have been as imperiously demanded as it was a few months later. It was no acquittal for unhappy Ireland. It was merely a reprieve.

In the circumstances, it is no matter for surprise that the country was seething with conspiracies. And it was well that at such a crisis its destinies should have been entrusted to Ormonde. A greater genius might have

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. ii. p. 657. Ormonde to Arlington, 25th October 1665.

devised more notable schemes for the salvation of a sorely tried people, but no one, in the numerous appeals that reached him from the Commissioners of Claims, could more earnestly have applied himself to holding even the scales of justice, or of preventing any undue invasion of the general compensation fund by royal grants, than did James Butler, whose natural good sense and serenity of temper were likewise invaluable. It was a moment when a hurried series of experiments might well have precipitated the very dangers they were intended to avert. Thus, although encompassed by plots and rumours of plots, he consistently discountenanced spies, remarking that "their little intelligences and reports," frequently proceeded from "levity, a desire to ingratiate themselves, or a worse design." Nor would he consent to Orrery's proposal for giving officers power to seize the arms and horses of suspected individuals. There was no more doubt in the Duke's mind than in the President of Munster's that serious mischief was brewing in the latter's province, and, indeed, throughout the Kingdom, but Ormonde was not to be tempted from his vantage ground of impartial justice.

"I confess," he wrote, "I am not willing to trust inferior officers, civil or military, with judging who are dangerous persons and fit to be secured, and their horses taken from them, a thing seldom performed without a mixture of private ends, either of revenge or avarice. And I know not what could more induce and extenuate the crime of rebellion, than the taking up of persons and their goods upon alarms and general suggestions."<sup>1</sup>

The plot so frequently announced came to a head in the month of May 1666. It was probably a ramifications of a widespread conspiracy organised by fanatics throughout Great Britain, but although in Scotland, it eventually assumed alarming proportions, in Ireland it resolved itself into the mutiny of four companies of soldiers quartered at Carrickfergus. It is almost

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 250.

unnecessary to add that in the latter case the ostensible reason for the rising was the want of pay. Ever since Strafford's brief spell of power the condition of the Irish private had been lamentable. With war abroad, and discontent at home, as Ormonde told Arlington, the unpaid army "instead of being our greatest security, becomes our greatest apprehension."<sup>1</sup> During the previous year Orrery reported that for days together the soldiers in his province lived on water, and "what they could shoot with their guns."<sup>2</sup> Six or eight months later, matters had not improved. In April the garrison at Carrickfergus became insubordinate, and though, for the moment, the malcontents were pacified, on the 22nd of May, when most of the officers were away on furlough, the troops rose, seized the town and castle and sent a formal ultimatum to the Governor, Lord Donegal.

Donegal, who had inherited wise administrative maxims from his uncle, Sir Arthur Chichester, before having recourse to sterner measures, did his best to persuade the mutineers to submission. Indeed, he was full of pity for the offenders, telling Ormonde that he had hitherto found the troopers "civil and patient, considering their hard condition, being bare of money and clothes."<sup>3</sup> Unluckily, the soldiers or their leaders spurned his offers, and Ormonde would certainly not have been wise to lose time in negotiating with rebels, who had taken up an uncompromising attitude. When the news of the rising reached him on May the 27th, he forbade further parleyings, and the same night despatched Lord Arran by sea with four companies to Carrickfergus. He himself led the cavalry thither by land. His promptitude was rewarded. Even earlier than the Duke had anticipated, Lord Arran was disembarked and at work. In fact, Ormonde's message, bidding the young commander await the reinforcements he was bringing before attacking the town, reached Arran just as the business was done. The

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. i. p. 636. Ormonde to Bennet, 29th November 1662.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 622. Lord Orrery, 15th August 1665.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. iii. p. 111. Lord Donegal to Ormonde, 21st May 1666.

townsmen were all on the side of law and order. They opened a gate to Arran, and he did the rest, with the loss of two troopers only. The Castle was victualled for a siege, but the next morning it surrendered at discretion. Arran's relief must have been great; for his own men, being every whit as ill-paid as the mutineers, might have joined the rebels instead of shooting them down. One short week, however, from the day of outbreak, the mutiny was at an end. And on the 29th of May Ormonde was supping peacefully at Hillsborough, drinking the absent Lord Conway's health in a "great glass of claret" as cheerfully as if he had been on a pleasure trip.<sup>1</sup>

Cheerful as he appeared, the sequel to the rising must have been particularly painful to one of Ormonde's humane disposition. But it was his clear duty to make an example of the ringleaders, and nine of these unhappy men paid for the brief revolt with their lives. During the enquiry that preceded the executions, it transpired that although the State undoubtedly owed a year's pay to the delinquents, thanks to their officer's generosity, only six weeks' wages were in fact due. As a fellow-man, this discovery may have lightened Ormonde's hard task; though as a Governor it must have added to his anxieties, showing that more serious causes than want of pay had prompted the rising. Of alarms and excursions, indeed, at this period there was no lack. During Ormonde's absence in the North, Dublin was seized with panic, and the terror spreading, Sir Francis Hamilton called the County of Cavan to arms, requisitioning the garrison of Belturbet. With good reason, Ormonde reproved this pandering to excitement, but during many months his position was certainly precarious. The Treasury was empty, the troops were on the verge of mutiny, and yet he knew that at any moment the country might be plunged in the throes of revolution. It was a relief when the English administration finally sent him £15,000. But he had to wait for this niggardly dole.

In the circumstances, it is much to Ormonde's credit

<sup>1</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. iii. Sir G. Rawdon, 1st June 1666.

that he brought the Kingdom through these troublous times without having recourse to extra-judicial measures. The only rising which took place, an attack by a certain Cornet Nangle and forty men on Castle Forbes, was even more quickly suppressed than the mutiny at Carrickfergus. Nangle was shot and his band dispersed; and there the mischief would have ended, had it not been that Nangle's Lieutenant, Dudley Costello, contrived to escape and to carry on a guerilla campaign against the Government for several months.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, until Redmond O'Hanlon arose to charm the Celtic imagination, no better representative of the Tory chieftain could have been found than Dudley Costello. A considerable landholder in County Mayo, and of ancient lineage, Costello, like so many of his class, had been forced to leave Ireland at the close of the civil wars. His property had been confiscated by the Cromwellian Government, and although he had served in the Duke of York's regiment in Flanders, he was only restored to his estates on the terms common to the majority of Ensignmen. Reprisals being unavailable for the settlers in possession of his domain, this decree was equivalent to the unhappy Captain's ruin; and after the passing of the Explanatory Act his last hopes of restitution were shattered. Costello was not the man to starve silently. He joined Nangle in his mad attempt on Castle Forbes; and, naturally enough, was proclaimed traitor without more ado. But Lord Dillon, the chief proprietor of the district, duly denounced punishment against all and sundry who should shelter the rebel, he had a sneaking kindness for an old comrade, and would have pleaded his cause, had Dudley consented to sue for mercy. The outrage had, however, been notorious, and Ormonde was not willing to pardon Costello unless the latter undertook to bring "some of his fellows to justice."<sup>1</sup> It was a condition often exacted when dealing with bogtrotters. But,

<sup>1</sup> Carte, "Report," p. 94. Duke of Ormonde to Lord Dillon, 7th July 1666.

to his honour, be it said, Dudley would not turn King's evidence. He preferred to declare war on the Government in a formal cartel, which he addressed to Lord Dillon, for, as he told his correspondent, he scorned to fall unawares on adversaries.

"I do declare," he wrote, "by these presents that I will by killing and burning both corne and edifices act my part of the destructive tragedy; let them prevent it the best way they may, now they have timely notice. . . . My Lord, some part of the reason I give Your Lordship the trouble of this letter is that I know the greatest part of my misrepresentors and informers are in your neighbourhood, where you now are, and that you might intimate the contents thereof to put them on their guard, as being of Your Lordship's relation. I understand, my Lord, though you had not a hand hitherto in the matter, your Lordship approves very much of the Act, and that withall you threaten a generall destruction to both these baronies of yours for their relation to me. If you really intend it, your Lordship cannot fix upon a more befitting instrument, or a man that will be humbler or more willing to effect it than my Lord.—Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"D. COSTELLOE."<sup>1</sup>

Dudley's threats were not empty boasts. He was in his own land, where he knew how to turn every foot of bog and forest to vantage for ambush or covert. Nor was the population less friendly than the country of his birth. No peasant would have dreamt of denouncing him—rather many a young Costello or O'Grady joyfully elected to link their fortunes to the outlaw captain, for outlaw, Dudley Costello, now, inevitably became.<sup>2</sup> Farmstead after farmstead went up in flames to the sky, and, when pursued, the author of these wild deeds seemed to melt into thin air. The regular troops were invoked. They beat the country in bands for seven or eight days consecutively, and then, utterly exhausted by the hardships they underwent, retired to some comparatively civilised

<sup>1</sup> Carte, "Report," Carte, MSS., vol. xxx. p. 26. Dudley Costello to Lord Dillon, Gortleghane, 18th August 1666.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, "Report," p. 94. Captain Ormsby to Viscount Dillon, 28th August 1666.

spot to rest and recruit,<sup>1</sup> proving they were no more fortunate in tracking Costello than the gentry of the neighbourhood, previously enlisted for the same purpose by Dillon. In fact, while the soldiers were hunting for him in one part of the country, he was generally making a raid in the opposite direction. For instance, preparations having been made to catch him at Leitrim, where he was expected to keep Christmas, he suddenly descended on Kilmoner, Ardchaill, and Coyle Cashell, all of which he carefully burnt.<sup>2</sup> As a parting message he left word that when he had done with burning, he intended to hew and hough the cattle belonging to tenants of obnoxious individuals, who persisted in staying on in that county.

Thus for the space of nine calendar months did one man and a band of lusty knaves, variously estimated at from thirteen to fifty men, defy the militia, the regular troops, Lord Kingston, the President of Connaught, and the Lord - Lieutenant himself. Every expedient was suggested for Costello's apprehension, and some methods essayed which would scarcely commend themselves to our more squeamish generation. Of course, the two obvious means of setting a price on Dudley's head, and bribing his followers to betray him, were immediately attempted. But Lord Kingston wrote dolefully that he found it more difficult than he had believed to get one Irishman to betray another, Dudley being so "beloved by the people that 'tis impossible to get him sold."<sup>3</sup>

After six months wasted in these vain endeavours, the resourceful Lord Orrery was moved to take a hand in the game. He sent Kingston a creature, whom he guaranteed to do the job, or rather, as the President put it, "to bring in your uncircumcised Philistine!" Of this new David, Kingston remarked,

"he looks like a man fitted for such designs, and if I had no more than his aspect to judge by, I should not think

<sup>1</sup> Carte, MSS., vol. xxxv. p. 105. Captain T. Caulfield to Kingston, 8th December 1666.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 114. Captain Theobald Dillon to Lord Dillon, 21st December 1666.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, "Report," p. 95. Lord Kingston to Ormonde, 6th October 1666.

the difference great whether he brought in Costello, or Costello his head, but, My Lord Orrery commands him at least for a white witch, so I have ventured my horses and money upon him accordingly."<sup>1</sup>

This ill-favoured cut-throat had promised to be at his work a week later, but for many a long week thereafter Dudley Costello ranged the mountain-side and lurked in the forest. Meanwhile, the military were quartered on the "Septs, kindred and relievers," of the "malefactors," in league with Dudley. All the Popish clergy suspected of "animating and encouraging them in their wicked courses,"<sup>2</sup> were threatened with arrest and imprisonment. And one ingenious young soldier actually advocated killing all the dogs and curs in the country to prevent their bark from giving notice of the troops' approach to the fugitives. Nevertheless, the bandit still remained at liberty. It is true that with the New Year he thought it advisable to shift the scene of his operations. This was, however, scant comfort for the Lord-Lieutenant charged with the administration not of one province only, but of the whole kingdom. Nor was he probably better pleased with Lord Dillon's message that: "If it were not for Magna Carta and His Grace's displeasure, he would subdue all the rebels in Connaught in ten days!" Thus matters stood until the beginning of March, and then when the end came, it seems to have been something of a surprise to Costello's enemies.

On the evening of March the 3rd, Captain Theobald Dillon and a small detachment of soldiers, who in the course of one of their periodical battles had waded Moy water, arrived at a couple of villages, where they were only too glad to disperse in search of food. Convinced that they were miles away from the redoubtable robber, they kept no watch, and gave themselves up to refreshment. Costello was better served by his scouts; and while these six or seven troopers were taking their ease, Dudley and his forty merry men swooped down upon the

<sup>1</sup> *Carte MSS.*, vol. xxxv. p. 144. Lord Kingston. . . . 1st January 1666.

<sup>2</sup> *Carte*, "Report," p. 96. Ormonde to Lord Kingston, 8th January, 1666-7.

revellers. The Irishman anticipated an easy victory, and certainly, the odds were unequal; as both parties were crossing swords, however, Captain Theobald Dillon, at the head of fifteen or twenty troopers, unexpectedly arrived to the rescue.<sup>1</sup> Costello's discipline was so good that his men stood firm; but at the first volley he was "shot stone dead," and the band then took to flight. Dudley Costello had earned his fate. Nevertheless it is a relief to think that if his head was duly affixed on the battlements of Dublin Castle, he yet fell in fair fight.

In 1666 Harry Bennet had married Lady Ossory's sister, Isabella van Beverweert. Ossory and his wife came to London to receive the bride and to assist at the wedding; and henceforward the two couples seem to have been almost inseparable. Previously, however, Ossory and Arlington were on friendly terms. Indeed, it was on his way to Euston, Arlington's Suffolk seat, in June 1666, that Lord Ossory heard that the Dutch and English fleets were engaged off the coast. The Duchess of Ormonde had strongly opposed Ossory's wish to volunteer, and he had hitherto bowed to the maternal decree. But the sound of the great guns was too much for filial piety. He was not to be restrained, determining, according to Arlington, then and there "to goe and have a part in it";<sup>2</sup> and, as the battle lasted four days, he was able to gratify his passion for adventure.

The two English Admirals, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, never on good terms, had separated, Rupert having left Monk to go in pursuit of a French squadron. When on the 1st of June the Duke came suddenly on the Dutch fleet under De Ruyter and De Witt off the North Foreland, he had, therefore, only fifty-two ships to their eighty, and was the less prepared for combat as he believed the enemy to be still in harbour. Prudence counselled awaiting Rupert's return. But Monk, having animadverted on Lord Sandwich's conduct for

<sup>1</sup> Carte, "Report," p. 97. Captain Theobald Dillon to Lord Dillon. Croghan, ye 3rd of March att tenn of ye clocke att night, 1666-7.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlvi. p. 148. Arlington to Ormonde, 9th June 1666.

that very cause, conceived he was bound to give battle,<sup>1</sup> Captain Mahan tells us that on this occasion the Duke anticipated Nelson's tactics at the battle of the Nile. And, undoubtedly, the marshalling of his own ships and the disposition of the Dutch armament enabled Monk to attack "a very superior force in such a way that only a part of it could come into action." Nevertheless, several English ships were sunk and captured, and wholesale disaster was only averted by the falling of darkness.

Meanwhile, expresses were being sent from headquarters to recall Rupert to Monk's aid, and, much to his satisfaction, Ossory was entrusted with the despatches announcing the fact to Albemarle. The envoy reached Monk's vessel, the *Royal Charles*, in the midst of the second day's fighting, passing right through the engagement and, restraining himself only with difficulty from pouring a broadside into De Ruyter's flagship from his little 6-ton shallop. He was rewarded by the command of the *St George*, and lost no time in taking possession of the ship, being "the most pleased man with the command, that ever I saw in my life upon the first view of the ship, before her defects and wants were seen,"<sup>2</sup> says his companion, Sir Thomas Clifford. These defects, it must be admitted, were neither few nor slight. The *St George* could not make sail with either foremast or mainmast, was leaky in the powder-room and could muster merely a few rounds of ammunition. It was a bitter disappointment to Ossory, who "had a mind to doe a brave action." But he could only bow to the inevitable, and straightway returned to the *Royal Charles*, where even his appetite for danger and glory was destined to be satisfied.

Throughout the four days' battle Monk fought with desperate valour against a much reinforced enemy. The carnage was terrible. Various British ships were sent to the bottom, and others, which by Monk's orders ran

<sup>1</sup> Mahan, "Influence of Sea Power," p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Dom. S. Cal., Ch. II., 1665-6 pref. xxiv. Sir Thomas Clifford to Lord Arlington,

for safety, while he fought a rearguard action to cover their retreat, grounded on the Galloper Sands.<sup>1</sup> Meantime, the Dutchmen were pressing hard upon the Duke. At one moment, a single fireship was his sole ally in the unequal duel, while the *Royal Charles* with two shots in the powder-room, between wind and water, had to lower the topsail on account of the shaky condition of the mainmast, literally riddled by shot, the foremast being scarcely less injured.

At this crisis, Ossory was fain to confess to Albemarle "that he saw no help but they must be taken," and was somewhat surprised when Monk replied "no, he knew how to prevent it."<sup>2</sup> It was some time before Ossory could extract the deep-laid plan from the taciturn commander, but, at last, he succeeded. It was simple. Albemarle had resolved to blow up his ship, his crew, and himself rather than strike his flag to De Ruyter! "This," says Thomas Butler's biographer, "was so agreeable to Lord Ossory's own sentiments, that he ever after had His Grace in great esteem."

It is clear that Rupert's advent was not premature. In fact, when on that Sunday afternoon the hulls and flags of the Prince's squadron were descried rising above the horizon, the English "halloo" was so hearty that the astonished Dutchmen were "at a little pause."<sup>3</sup> Thanks to Rupert's assistance, the fourth day was practically a drawn battle, a thick fog ultimately putting an end to the protracted struggle. The States lost three Vice-Admirals, two thousand seamen, and four ships. The English suffered even more heavily, for on their side five thousand sailors perished, two thousand were made prisoners, and seventeen ships were sunk or captured. Thus ended the engagement off the North Foreland, described by the same eminent naval authority, already quoted, as perhaps one of the "most remarkable actions ever waged on the ocean."<sup>4</sup> Despite their misadventures, the British claimed

<sup>1</sup> Dom. S. Cal., Ch. II., 1665-6, pref. xxiii.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 598.

<sup>3</sup> Dom. S. Cal., Ch. II., 1665-6, pref. xxiii;

<sup>4</sup> Mahan, "Influence of Sea Power," p. 125.

the victory. The Dutch did likewise, but on one subject there was no difference of opinion. In an engagement remarkable for heroism, Ossory's bravery had been conspicuous. His daring made him "the darling of the Kingdom, and especially of the seamen who called him the Preserver of the Navy."<sup>1</sup>

In June 1666, Thomas Butler was sworn of the Privy Council, and in September 1666 he was summoned to the English House of Lords under the title of Lord Butler of Moor Park. If he had coveted such distinctions, his ambition should have been satisfied. But it is amusing to note that the hero of the "four days' battle," was now mainly concerned in making his peace with the domestic powers. He seems to have thought that his case could best be pleaded by his astute brother-in-law; and it was therefore left to Arlington to urge on the Duke that as "all had succeeded soe happily with my Lord, with soe much honour and advantage to his reputation he assures himself he shall have Your Grace's approbation for what he hath done, he promising it shall be the last time he will play the part of a volunteer."<sup>2</sup>

The truant's excuses were addressed to the Duke, but they were evidently meant for the Duchess who accepted them graciously enough.

"I hope, however," she told Arlington, "I shall not be thought disloyal if I say that I trust he will not attempt the like again, but reserve himself to act if there shall be occasion where he may be instrumental to bring more to engage than himself singly. I think," the Duchess concluded, "you agree with me and hope you will pardon the errors which you find in my Lord.—Your Lordship's real and humble servant,

E. ORMONDE."<sup>3</sup>

The year 1666 is memorable for one of the greatest calamities England has ever known—the Fire of London. Poverty - stricken as was Ireland, a subscription for the

<sup>1</sup> N. D. B., Article Ossory.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. xlvi. p. 148. Arlington to Ormonde, 9th June 1666.

<sup>3</sup> Cal. S.P. Ireland, 1666-8, vol. iii. p. 13. Duchess of Ormonde to Lord Arlington, 16th June.

relief of the sufferers was immediately organised there, Ormonde heading the list of donors. But as money was almost non-existent in the sister island the national relief fund took the shape of 30,000 beeves. The spontaneity and generosity of the gift should have reconciled English and Irish hearts. Unfortunately, it had the reverse effect. English landlords and graziers were still in dread of being undersold by Irish products. And Ashley was not ashamed of describing this touching act of charity as the outcome of hypocrisy, "fit to be abominated as a cheat."<sup>1</sup> When Parliament met a few days after the Fire, Sir Richard Temple brought forward a new edition of his bill to prohibit the cattle trade. Though ably combated it had a quick passage through the House of Commons and was sent up to the Lords on the 13th of October.

In the Upper House, the act was more thoroughly debated, two considerable amendments being achieved. The Commons had described the importation of cattle into England as "a nuisance," a term for which their Lordships substituted that of "detiment" or "mischief." The difference was not purely academic. The King could grant a dispensation where the evil was described as a "mischief" which he was debarred from granting in the case of a "nuisance." The peers likewise threw out a clause bestowing on Scotland those rights that were denied to Ireland. Nevertheless, subject to these amendments and in spite of Clarendon's vigorous opposition the bill was eventually ratified by the Upper House.

It must not, however, be imagined that the heat and excitement evoked by the Cattle Bill was confined to the Commons. The Duke of Buckingham, who was its chief champion, openly rejoiced at any chance of injuring Ormonde, for whom he had conceived a violent, and somewhat inexplicable, hatred. Undoubtedly the two men were as far apart in principles and character as the east is from the west. Yet they both possessed that sense of humour which has sometimes bridged gulfs as wide. Perhaps the true origin of Buckingham's dislike

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 266.



*George Villiers 2<sup>nd</sup> Duke of Buckingham*



for Ormonde lay in his jealousy of the Sovereign's affection for the elder man. Perhaps George Villiers had really persuaded himself, as he gave out, that the Duke of Ormonde "had made many promises of friendship to him, which he had not made good." Whereas, in truth, says Clarendon, Ormonde

"did really desire and had heartily endeavoured to do Buckingham all the good offices he could with the King, which some other new extravagance of his own, disappointed, or made ineffectual."<sup>1</sup>

Whatever the cause of Buckingham's sentiments, they were, however, so notorious that he was the natural "patron" of any one harbouring a grudge against the Lord-Lieutenant. He did not lack supporters. There were many noble lords who were willing to aid and abet any measure aimed at Ormonde simply because they thought the Irish Duke "eclipsed the nobility of England." The motives that led Lord Ashley and Lord Lauderdale to identify themselves with Buckingham were scarcely more magnanimous. If Irish competition was once removed, Lauderdale saw a good deal to be made by the sale of lean Scottish beasts in the English markets, and he had succeeded in interesting Ashley in this scheme for "engrossing and monopolising" that trade.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, Ashley was already spinning a network of intrigues centring in the handsome person of the Duke of Monmouth, and was eager to get him made Viceroy in Ormonde's place. It was self-evident that the passing of the Cattle Bill was the easiest method for making Ormonde's position untenable.

The great Achitophel was never mealy mouthed. It is consequently not surprising that he should have based his advocacy of the Act on the cynical hypothesis that if Irish trade was allowed to prosper, and Irish rents to rise, the Duke of Ormonde would "soon have a greater revenue than the Earl of Northumberland." But it is instructive

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Clarendon," vol. ii. p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxv. p. 79. Conway to Ormonde, 13th November 1666.

to note that "this reasoning made a visible impression on the House, as a thing not to be endured."<sup>1</sup>

In these circumstances, the atmosphere of the Upper Chamber soon became dangerously electric. The Duke of Buckingham inaugurated the exchange of amenities with the remark that "whoever was against the Bill had either an Irish interest or an Irish understanding." This speech offended Ossory, who had already considerable complaint against the Duke. After the debate was over, he therefore waited for Buckingham outside the Houses of Parliament, and requested satisfaction for the "loose and unworthy expressions which he had chosen to make on the Irish Nation." Buckingham had no desire to fight, but he had practically no choice, and he finally agreed to meet the young Irishman, within the hour, at Chelsea Fields. Thither Ossory sped, but he waited vainly for his opponent. Buckingham had betaken himself to another spot, which no one but himself had ever imagined to be the appointed trysting place.

Buckingham had, in fact, not the faintest intention of being drawn into a duel, and had probably expected that Lord Ossory would get himself arrested before they could come to blows. When, however, the next morning, his antagonist appeared in Parliament, the Duke thought it well to take the House into his confidence. In a rambling discourse he recounted Ossory's challenge, adding that although he did not hold himself bound to account for words uttered in Parliament, yet it was "suitable and agreeable to his nature to fight with any man who had a mind to fight with him." He concluded by declaring that after waiting for Lord Ossory in the "fields over against Chelsea," he had been authoritatively summoned hence by a gentleman sent from the King to prevent the encounter.

Naturally, this strange narrative excited surprise. In reply, Ossory readily admitted that he had intended to fight with Buckingham though he denied that the challenge was occasioned by the Duke's speech.<sup>2</sup> For

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Clarendon," p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 335.

some time, he said, he had submitted to affronts from George Villiers rather than disturb the company where they were made. But his patience being exhausted, he had demanded the reparation due from one gentleman to another.

Upon Ossory's explanation, both lords were required to withdraw, pending the examination of their several cases—an examination which provoked much distinctly heated argument. Ossory was accused of violating the privilege of the House—an offence very properly considered heinous. On the other hand, the popular young naval hero did not lack friends to testify that previous to Buckingham's speech, Ossory had complained of the Duke's behaviour, and announced the intention of calling him to account. Thus, it was evident that apart from Parliamentary discussions there existed reasons for the quarrel. Nor, as the Duke confessed that he had accepted Ossory's challenge, could he be held blameless. It was therefore decided that the same punishment should be allotted to the two men. In fact, the ludicrous spectacle was witnessed of Buckingham's friends praying that the Duke might not be exonerated since such a proceeding would have been equivalent to admitting that he never meant to fight. Eventually, their Lordships solved the problem by summoning both delinquents to the bar, whence, after a solemn rebuke, they were removed to the Tower for a few days, during which period, it was observed, that the debates on the Bill languished considerably.

It must be admitted that Ossory's incarceration did not affect his capacity for repartee. No sooner was he set at liberty than he was engaged in wordy warfare, this time with Ashley, Buckingham's Chief Lieutenant. The city of London, desirous that her poorer citizens should not be defrauded of the promised Irish beeves, had petitioned the House to this effect. On examination, however, the proviso dealing with the matter was found to enforce the slaughter of the beasts previous to transport, and that before Michaelmas, when slaughtering was

unknown. Lord Anglesea, who had no difficulty in exposing the folly of this regulation, urged that the cattle should be shipped alive; Ashley, in reply, attacked donors and donations with so coarse a virulence, that Ossory was inspired to tell him that such malicious misrepresentation could only proceed from one of Cromwell's counsellors. That Ashley had filled that once-coveted position was undeniable, though, according to his present views and those of his large following, no more deadly insult could have been offered. Great was the ensuing uproar. Buckingham, who rushed to his ally's succour, was soundly trounced by the indomitable Ossory. The feeling of the assembly was against the latter; and though Arlington fought his brother-in-law's battle with real devotion, the sailor earl had again to submit to the indignity of a reproof from his peers.

Thus amidst every species of disorder did the Cattle Bill obtain the suffrages of the Lords. Nor were they even able to insist on the maintenance of their amendments which the Commons refused to entertain. Some members of the Upper House would, indeed, have made a stand on the matter, but the King was determined at all hazards to avoid a squabble which might have cost him his much desired grant. By his express order the Duke of York and the Archbishop of Canterbury withdrew their opposition, and having passed through all the appointed stages of legislation the Cattle Bill received the royal assent.

## CHAPTER IV

### ORMONDE'S RULE AND ORMONDE'S DISMISSAL

THE Cattle Bill was now formally entered on the Statute Book. All Ormonde's efforts to prevent or attenuate its provisions had failed ; and henceforward it was to fostering and promoting Irish trade in new directions that he turned his energies.

The distress was at first acute,<sup>1</sup> since Ireland had no other organised resources, and not only live beasts but beef, pork, and bacon were debarred from entering England. Moreover, in 1667, Scotland, one of the few outlets still remaining for the cattle traffic, closed her ports against the sister country. It is significant that at this period horses which generally fetched 30s. a head were now thankfully sold as dogs' meat, and that oxen brought 10s. instead of 50s. apiece. Landlords and tenants were equally threatened with ruin. Orrery, who was a grazier on a large scale in the South, wrote that the value of his estate had been reduced from £4,000 to £500 per annum.<sup>2</sup> National bankruptcy may well have appeared imminent ; while the fact that this cruel measure became law when Great Britain was engaged in a continental war naturally intensified the difficulties of the situation.

In the circumstances, Ormonde could only implore Charles to license free trade between Ireland and foreign countries. It was not without a struggle that this concession was wrung from the Privy Council,<sup>3</sup> but an

<sup>1</sup> Murray, "History of Commercial Relations between England and Ireland," pp. 32-44.

<sup>2</sup> Cal. S.P., vol. iii. p. 282. Earl of Orrery to Viscount Conway, 25th January 1667.

<sup>3</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxv. p. 218. Order of King in Council to Ormonde, 23rd March 1667.

order to this effect was finally obtained, reinforced by free passes to the shipping engaged in trade between Ireland, France, Holland, and Denmark. Happily, also, although the Navigation Act of 1663 interdicted the transport of European commodities to the American Plantations, unless laden and shipped from English ports, this prohibition did not extend to Ireland's sole products, horses and victuals;<sup>1</sup> and this vent for her merchandise, coupled with the continental traffic, tided Ireland over the worst crisis. After a time, indeed, Ormonde's two prophecies that Ireland, by being forced into commercial relations with foreign nations, would grow rich in England's despite, and that the latter would grievously expiate her selfishness, both duly came to pass. But of the two prognostications it was the second, illustrating the evil effects of protection, that was most quickly realised. Undoubtedly, English rents had been considerably depressed, but by causes so entirely independent of Irish importations that the passing of the Cattle Bill did not assist English landlords. On the contrary, the shortage of beasts naturally sent up the price of meat and therewith the rate of wages. Landlords and farmers were still forced to stock their pastures. But the Welsh and Scotch breeders were now in the position of a modern Transatlantic "Trust." They had the monopoly of supply and dictated prices. The profit which the English feeder had formerly made through fattening lean Irish beasts was now swallowed up in the purchase money, so that neither proprietors nor graziers eventually benefited by the oppression of their Irish brethren.

The mischief wrought by this greedy and shortsighted policy did not end here.<sup>2</sup> Before the Cattle Act, the Irish had not troubled to breed cows for milk, or oxen for slaughter. Irish hides were consequently thin, and Irish tallow so bad in quality that, despite their remarkable cheapness, their purchase was reckoned false economy. This was also the case with the butter. To

<sup>1</sup> "History of Commercial Relations between England and Ireland," p. 41.  
<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 33.

baffle investigation, the top and bottom layers in a cask were of superior quality, while the middle was frequently filled up not only with tallow but with stones. After the closing of the English markets, Irish breeders set to work to fatten their own stock, and their efforts were rapidly crowned with success. This was not extraordinary since they disposed of the richest and cheapest pastures in the British Isles; land worth 40s. an acre in England being let at 4s. in Ireland, while Irish labour was no less poorly remunerated.<sup>1</sup> The Celt, moreover, unlike his Anglo-Saxon contemporary, did not require beef for home consumption, or as Sir William Temple tersely put it, "beef was a drug," it being possible to buy an ox in the county markets and to "sell its hide and tallow at the next trading towns for near as much as it cost." Consequently, all his meat went abroad at prices with which his English or continental rival could not hope to compete. In fact, he could afford to undersell the world. By the year 1675, Irish beef was being offered for 1d. the lb. in Holland and Zealand. Tallow, hides, and fish were just half the price of the corresponding English exports. And when foreign nations discovered that they could victual their fleets far cheaper in Ireland than elsewhere, it naturally ensued that the distressful country became the great meat dépôt of the continent instead of England. Indeed, after a time, the English navy followed suit. Hitherto, provisions had been brought to England. Now, her shipowners were put to the trouble and expense of going to fetch them across the Channel.

The London or Bristol merchant was no less a sufferer by the Cattle Act than his agricultural neighbours. By the sale of their flocks and herds in England, the Irish had earned the money to buy English manufactured goods, hops, and beer. For a space after 1666 there was no money in Ireland for superfluities.<sup>2</sup> When the tide began to turn, it appeared that Irish custom was given to

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Temple, "Works," "Of the Advancement of Trade in Ireland," vol. iii. pp. 17-8.

<sup>2</sup> "History of Commercial Relations between England and Ireland," p. 36.

Irish customers. Before 1663 Ireland imported yearly £210,000 worth of English wares. By 1672 the total had sunk to £20,000.

But if the mills of God grind exceeding small, they also grind slowly, and in the anxious months that followed on the "killing blow," as Ormonde very truly called the Cattle Bill, few politicians would have dared to predict such an outcome to the situation. It was well for Ireland that she owned a governor who united no little energy to a teachable and enquiring spirit. It was to the development, and, indeed, to the creation of internal resources that he looked for ultimate salvation, and with this object he put both himself and the country to school at the hand of experts.

Already in 1661, the Irish Parliament had appointed a Commission for the encouragement of Irish trade. The pick of French enterprise was not yet going a-begging, as was the case after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But many a workman, whose loss Colbert must have sorely grudged, was burning to transfer his technical knowledge and abilities to a country in sympathy with his religious creed. The English administration proved themselves unusually intelligent in guiding the trend of this migration to Irish shores. Refugees who disembarked in England were offered letters of naturalisation and their travelling expenses to Ireland, where they were cordially welcomed by Ormonde. Indeed, as the latest historian of Irish commerce has testified, it was the Duke who did most in this direction.<sup>1</sup> He planted French colonies at Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Lismore, Portarlington, and Kilkenny. In fact, he provided a shelter for some of the emigrants in his house at Carrick, and when the complaints of his other tenants made it impossible to retain the foreigners under his own roof, he urged his agent to assist their removal and to find them suitable quarters elsewhere. He was rewarded. For in each of these places he had the satisfaction of watching the steady growth of factories for woollens, linen, gloves,

<sup>1</sup> "History of Commercial Relations between England and Ireland," p. 44.

and lace, centres of industrial instruction for the countryside.

It should be said that Ormonde had not waited for the Cattle Bill to make his first commercial venture. In 1664, to utilise the raw wool which English ordinances debarred the Irish from sending abroad, Sir Peter Pett had suggested the establishment of a factory for fine worsted stockings and Norwich stuffs in Ireland.<sup>1</sup> Pett pointed out that these goods had formed a most profitable branch of the trade between England and Spain, before Cromwell's war closed the ports of the peninsula to English merchants. Even after Charles II. concluded a treaty with the most Catholic Monarch, that trade had never revived; and it was open to Ireland to adopt and reshape it for her own benefit.<sup>2</sup> Pett's memorial, and his offer to bring over workmen from Norwich to lay the foundations of the industry, found favour both with Ormonde and the Council of Trade. But it was Ormonde who, after his usual princely fashion, bore the burden of the inaugural expenses. He founded a manufactory at Clonmel, assigning houses on long leases, and land free of rent to the settlers. And he employed a certain Captain Grant, one of the first statisticians of the period, to recruit five hundred Walloon Protestant families in the neighbourhood of Canterbury as a nucleus of skilled labour.

Desirous as Ormonde was, however, to promote subsidiary industries like stocking and lace making, his commercial ambitions, like those of his first teacher, Strafford, were centred on the organisation of the linen trade. Wentworth's undertaking had been shattered in the wreck of Irish prosperity. Ormonde's revival of the trade was therefore rather akin to a creation. Not only did he contrive, in a fashion which his imperious predecessor had never achieved, to obtain Parliamentary support and sympathy, but he used every other means, great and small, to further the nascent industry.

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxiii. f. 424. Sir Peter Pett to Ormonde, 12th November 1664.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 283-4.

Diplomatists, like Sir William Temple, who owed his post at Brussels to Ormonde's recommendation, found they could best make their court to the Viceroy by enlisting expert artisans on his behalf. At Jersey, Sir George Carteret followed Temple's example, while even La Rochelle and the Isle of Rhé furnished their contingent of skilled labour to Ormonde's new venture.

It was not, however, only the foreign workman, but his methods also that Ormonde wished to transplant to Ireland, and the instructions issued by Colonel Richard Lawrence, the Duke's most trusted lieutenant, show that Ormonde regarded no detail, which could further this object, as below his attention. Judging from these directions, drawn up for the guidance of the commercial scouts sent at Ormonde's expense to spy out the riches of neighbouring lands, the Duke's confidence in Lawrence was not misplaced. The ex-Cromwellian evidently possessed the two great requisites of a successful captain of industry, imagination and technical experience. His instructions are equally shrewd and universal. The genesis of each trade, the philosophy of commerce was to claim his deputy's attention, no less than the system devised by the most ingenious mercantile community of that period for examining, trying, sealing, and making "merchantable" each separate bale of goods, without "opening or measuring it."<sup>1</sup> Lawrence professed the sound axiom that the development of home industries should not be abandoned to the alien. And his investigator was strictly charged to examine into the means whereby "Welsh fluddings, swanskins and Witney blankets" might gain that "good white colour," which had hitherto been deemed attainable only by the Dutch scourer and miller. In fact, Lawrence avowed that the "artist" he most coveted was an

"experienced Whitner of Linen Cloth, after the Dutch way, and the next to him a skilful Linen weaver not only in fine plaine cloth, but chiefly in Diaper, Damask and Ticking."

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxvi. p. 226. Colonel Lawrence's instructions to Alex. von Fornenburg, 20th May 1668.

To secure such valuable instruments, Lawrence, acting on behalf of Ormonde, was ready to offer two or three years salary, "at the best wages Holland gives," paid down in advance, with £5 for transportation fares, and sundry other privileges. The bait was too tempting to be rejected. The desired auxiliaries flocked to Lawrence's aid. By 1668 he had given up his own upholsterer's "business" in Dublin, where he declared himself to be settled "in as plentiful a way of trade as most of his quality," and was preparing to devote his entire energies to the new venture.<sup>1</sup>

Some three years previously, Ormonde had acquired a house and 450 acres at Chapelizod—the Chapelle d'Iseult of the Arthurian legend—as a more convenient residence than the Phoenix Park, and it was at Chapelizod that he now established his emigrants. Like all building operations in which the Duchess was concerned, the Viceroy's mansion at Chapelizod turned out rather a costly undertaking, but, at any rate, the Dutch garden she laid out gave vast satisfaction to the good lady, and the little property was an excellent centre for Ormonde's commercial colony. The modern proprietor might not consider it an addition to the amenities of his dwelling-house to be confronted by a large thatched barn, hastily converted into a factory containing twenty looms. With all their happy instinct in matters artistic, these details do not seem to have affected our forefathers, and their interest in such work formed an ample compensation for the disfigurement of the view. Moreover, although Lawrence begged Ormonde to make him a Justice of the Peace that he might keep the workpeople, with their natural "disposition to disorder, and their aptness to deceive," in good order, it is difficult to think of these phlegmatic Dutchmen and godly Huguenots as a crew of riotous reprobates. At any rate, between the foreigners' technical skill, Lawrence's supervision and the Duke's benevolent patronage, the enterprise thrrove and prospered.<sup>2</sup> Lawrence remained manager,

<sup>1</sup> F. Elrington Ball, "History of the County of Dublin," part iv. p. 170.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxvi. p. 225. Colonel Richard Lawrence to Sir G. Lane, 20th May 1668.

executing large orders for the Irish army and the Linen Board in Leinster until the advent of Essex. He then retired, declaring that the change of Governors made it difficult for him to achieve the same successes as under the master,

"whose pleasing carriage and sweet temper had obtained a greater conquest upon the hearts of thousands disengaged persons . . . than a frowning severe man would have done in a hundred years."

It may excite surprise that at a moment when he was leaving nothing undone to promote Ireland's commercial well-being Ormonde should apparently have neglected the export of wool, Ireland's staple produce, but the acts which prohibited the traffic, under pain of felony, were yet unrepealed. Charles, indeed, when he gave permission to Ireland for free trade with foreign countries had seemed to suspend these penalties. The Duke was not, however, prepared to risk so serious a breach of the Statute Law on a loosely worded promise of connivance from the Privy Council. He therefore told Anglesea, who was acting as intermediary between him and the English authorities, that he should give no licenses for the export of wool, "unless the King, by a particular letter, will by advice of his Council declare it to be his intention." As the Duke frankly admitted that this branch of trade "would most certainly and speedily bring in money," his prudent attitude must have cost him no small effort. But he was wise. The "particular letter" was never despatched by King and Council. Had Ormonde issued the licenses on his own responsibility he would have given his enemies an opening for attack, which their subsequent conduct, a few months later, showed they would not have been slow to use. Not only might the Duke have been forced to share his friend Lord Clarendon's exile, but, with his overthrow, Ireland would have lost the most efficient champion she was to know for many a long year.

The Duke of Buckingham's hatred for Ormonde had not been assuaged by his recent quarrels with Ossory, but during the early months of 1667 it seemed as if his

enmity would no longer be formidable to Ormonde. In February 1667 Buckingham was accused of having induced an astrologer, one John Heydon, to draw Charles II.'s horoscope, a proceeding which brought the Duke within the grasp of the treason laws, while he was also suspected of taking part in plots of a less academic nature. There is little doubt that George Villiers had dabbled in the occult arts; but it was probably for other reasons that he took to flight. The sole matter on which Arlington and Clarendon were agreed was in the detestation of Buckingham, who never lost an opportunity of turning them into ridicule with the King. Charles was not likely to prosecute his chief jester and jigmaker to gratify the resentment of either minister. But Buckingham had also contrived to infuriate Barbara Villiers, and, until she could be placated, he was probably prudent to evade the royal warrant. In hiding therefore he remained until the beginning of July, by which time he felt the situation, both private and public, was propitious to his reappearance. The death of his sole accuser, his own reconciliation with Lady Castlemaine, and the national dissatisfaction with Clarendon's administration were all so many points in Buckingham's favour. Nor had he judged amiss. He was escorted from the Tower by an enthusiastic populace, and it was in Barbara's lodgings that he was admitted to kiss the King's hand and to make his peace with Charles.

From a hunted fugitive, Buckingham rapidly developed into the Sovereign's chief friend and adviser. Indeed, his surrender to justice might well have been announced to Clarendon in Philippe Auguste's dramatic message to John, on Richard Cœur de Lion's release : "Look to yourself, the devil is unchained." Clarendon's virtues no less than his foibles had undermined his credit with the King. He was in no sense responsible for the burning of the English fleet in the Thames. But the nation clamoured for a scapegoat, and Charles, who believed that Clarendon had recently thwarted his designs on "*la belle Stuart*," was delighted to gratify popular resentment at the cost of an inconvenient mentor.

The death of the wife, to whom Edward Hyde had ever been fondly devoted, seemed at this crisis to have benumbed the unhappy Chancellor's powers of resistance. It was while he sat alone and broken-hearted, indifferent to all else, in the great house in Piccadilly—"Dunkirk House"<sup>1</sup> as his malicious enemies chose to call it—that the plans for his destruction were matured. His best friends were no longer available. Southampton had died a few months previously. Ormonde was battling on in Ireland. James of York was ill of the smallpox. Everything great and small combined for the Chancellor's overthrow. On the 30th of August he was ordered to deliver up the Great Seal.

The blow was probably the heavier in that no later than August the 26th the King had assured Clarendon of his continued grace and favour, though, already, the following day, Arlington had written to adumbrate the coming change to Ormonde. He assured the Duke that the Chancellor would best consult his safety by a voluntary resignation. Otherwise, in the coming session, he ran the risk of endangering himself, even more than the King's interests.<sup>2</sup>

"I am able," wrote Ormonde, in his reply to this disingenuous plea, "to make no judgement on the expedient, (Clarendon's voluntary resignation) His Majesty found to give himself ease and my lord Chancellor security at the next meeting of the Parliament. If my lord Chancellor could persuade himself that the demission of his charge would facilitate a good intelligence between the King and his subjects, and gain those assistances from them to support the Government which are so evidently necessary, he is not so good a servant or so wise a man, as I hope he will be found, if he would not on his knees lay the seals at His Majesty's feet and beseech him to take them from him. But," said the faithful friend, "if there remain any doubt of the success of forcing him to retire, or if he is not chargeable with some crime, such

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon House was nicknamed Dunkirk House in reference to the wholly imaginary bribe which was supposed to have bought the Chancellor's consent to the sale of Dunkirk to Louis XIV., which bribe was also said to have paid for the construction of Clarendon House.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 305. Ormonde to Arlington, 3rd September 1667.

as put in the balance with many years faithful, painful and comfortless service shall outweigh it, I know the King is too good a master to lay him aside (which in effect is to condemn him unheard) upon popular clamour, and for uncertain advantage; whereof the one will always attend men of business who rise by it, and the other should never be brought in competition with honour and justice, which are the only lasting supports to greatness, and can hardly fail since they can as hardly be found without the assistance of steadiness and courage."

In the year of Grace 1667, words such as these were unfamiliar in the withdrawing-room at Whitehall. Yet even in that graceless place and period, although they could not move the King from his purpose, they were not entirely without effect. They seem almost to have aroused a latent sense of shame in the Monarch, for he actually took the trouble to write himself to Ormonde stating that recent events were due to the Chancellor's "peevishness."<sup>1</sup> Midway in this explanation, it evidently struck him, however, as inadequate, and stopping short with the excuse that "the argument was too big for a letter," he fell back on amiable protestations that Ormonde's "former" friendship for Clarendon should do him no injury.

Only the royal cynic could talk of Ormonde's friendship for Clarendon in the past tense. The Duke could, it is true, be of little actual service to his old comrade, while his characteristic loyalty forbade his criticising the King's conduct. His pleading for Clarendon had, moreover, been disregarded; and events across the channel being as hurried as the posts were slow, a whole week after the Chancellor's dismissal, Ormonde was still in the dark as to the outcome of the struggle he knew to be proceeding.

"I expect the issue," he wrote to Clarendon, "with infinite concernment for the King, and as much as I ought for you. It will be enough to tell you, I shall be found exact to my professions. And so God send you all the consolations you shall at any time need."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 305. Charles II. to Ormonde.

<sup>2</sup> *IItem*, vol. v. p. 55. Ormonde to Clarendon, Kilkenny, 6th September 1667.

Even when he finally realised that the Great Seal had been taken from Clarendon, Ormonde was still "in perfect ignorance of the reason or manner of doing it." He could only tell Edward Hyde:

"If you believe my friendship to you to be such as I have still told you it was, and as most certainly it is, you will not think I am satisfied with such a knowledge of the grounds of such a proceeding. And how little soever I can contribute to your contentment, I know you will not refuse what may soe much settle mine, as the knowledge of what it may be proper for you to inform me will.

"I will not at this distance take upon me to minde you of the conduct expected from you in this case. You have doubtlesse long before this can come to your hands, fixt on a much better methode than I can prescribe. The substance of the misfortune befallen you is not without many precedents, familiar to you in history; and some your owne experience can furnish. Circumstances may aggravate or aleviate, but the succors from within are what make all crosses more or less supportable. I most heartily pray you may find plenty of them, and all other satisfactions your condition is capable of. And soe God keepe you and yours."<sup>1</sup>

It must have been no little grief to Ormonde that in the hour of Clarendon's utmost need he could only offer him sympathy. But at a crisis when, as the latter ruefully confessed, he "had not many friends to brag of,"<sup>2</sup> any testimony of faithfulness was precious to the fallen statesman. Evidence of this is contained in the one letter he did contrive to transmit to the Viceroy. For Clarendon dared no longer trust the post, and so the correspondence, which had lasted a lifetime, comes abruptly to a close in this very epistle with the petition: "God preserve you and yours and keepe your master firm to you, for I believe I have few enemies who do not desyre to obliege you the same way they have done me."

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 55. Ormonde to Clarendon, 13th September 1667.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 56. Clarendon to Ormonde, Clarendon House, 24th September 1667.

Clarendon did not exaggerate the dangers which threatened Ormonde. The offices of Lord-Steward and Viceroy excited the cupidity of rivals, and for a time it seemed as if Ormonde would not escape impeachment.

It was not only Buckingham's enmity that Ormonde had cause to fear. Buckingham's jackal, Sir Robert Howard, notorious for his bad plays and his want of principle, as witness the *Indian Queen*, branded by Evelyn as "a ridiculous play," and the unjustifiable attack on the Dutch fleet, was equally intent on contriving Ormonde's ruin. The origin of this hatred was not far to seek. Howard had set his heart on being made a Commissioner for administering the Explanatory Act, and chose to ascribe his failure in the matter to the Lord-Lieutenant. Consequently he also longed to be avenged on the Duke, and between his industry and Buckingham's imaginative genius there seemed a fair chance that the two men's spite would be gratified. Indeed, by the middle of October, the pair had succeeded in "cooking up" an impeachment in twelve articles against Ormonde. It is true that when this precious document fell into the hands of the Solicitor-General, Sir Heneage Finch, the latter vowed that ten out of the twelve articles were rubbish. But to a generation that remembered Strafford's attainder, and were even then witnessing Clarendon's destruction, the charges brought against Ormonde of having exceeded his powers in the Carrickfergus Court Martials, and in quartering troops in Dublin had an ugly sound. Finch himself was alarmed. The quartering of soldiery was, he said, forbidden by an Irish Statute of Henry VI.; but, as offences against Irish law could not be tried in England, he hoped he could furnish an adequate defence of Ormonde's conduct. The lawyer did not say, but doubtless thought, that the real danger of the situation lay in the temper of the English House of Commons. At this juncture no accusation touching a friend of Clarendon's was too frivolous for that Assembly.

Buckingham and Howard did not rely entirely on these articles. The Land Settlement had raised up countless

enemies to Ormonde, since it was easier for the disappointed claimant to ascribe his failure to the Lord-Lieutenant than to the weakness of his own case. Amongst the discontented was a certain Alderman Barker, who had purchased a large property from two Cromwellians, on whom it had been bestowed for services performed at sea against the Irish rebels.<sup>1</sup> These services were not amongst those recognised by the new Land Legislation. And on enquiry it further transpired that the assigners had spent their substance not in fighting Irish rebels, either at sea or elsewhere, but in levying war in England against their liege lord, the King. They had not, therefore, the shadow of a claim to compensation, and their exposure automatically bringing about Alderman Barker's forfeiture, the Irish Committee dismissed his suit.

Barker was, however, a persistent person. He straightway published a libellous pamphlet against Ormonde, and appealed to the King in Council. Amongst the section of that body inimical to the Duke he could command a weighty backing, Ashley, Buckingham, and Sir William Coventry all labouring hard to "puzzle the case" in his favour.<sup>2</sup> But for once the King stood firm. When the Councillors wandered from the point, he reminded them that the question in dispute was purely geographical. They had merely to determine where the aforesaid debts had been contracted. To that query there was but one answer. It could not be denied that the expenditure had taken place in England, and Barker's appeal was consequently rejected.

The Alderman, having twice vainly had recourse to the law, now sought a favourable verdict from the passions of the House of Commons. His petition was introduced by a member, who described the case as one beginning in bribery and ending in oppression. Whereupon the King took fright, and had it not been for Ormonde's vehement remonstrances, would have made Barker a present of the land. The Duke felt that such a course would be fatal. In the first place, since Barker had

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 316.

accused him of partiality, it was a slur on his reputation, while it would make finality in the Land Settlement unattainable. No judgment given by the Court of Claims would escape being called in question, and it would be necessary to compromise with every knave, who had the wit to make political capital out of his private concerns at Westminster. Ormonde had not mistaken the signs of the times. Barker's petition was followed by another from the adventurers. On the passing of the Explanatory Act they had thankfully purchased two-thirds of their original grants at the cost of relinquishing the remaining portion. The ink was scarcely dry upon their contract, yet they were already clamouring for the restoration of their former holdings in their entirety. The impudence of the proposal was too great to find favour even with a fanatic House of Commons, and on Finch's explanation of the case the adventurers' suit was rejected.

Meanwhile, Ormonde was left to govern Ireland as best he could, not only unassisted by the Home Government, but hampered at every turn by the reports of his impending disgrace. The situation was fraught with difficulty, but the Duke's spirit never flinched or wavered. Indeed, he consoled himself by remarking that he could not wish to be accused by "more inconsiderable fellows, or more detected knaves" than those now busied in concocting charges against him. The faults alleged against him, he continued,

"must be in government, justice or management of the King's money. For I think it will hardly passe for a cryme to receive gifts and bountys from the King and Parliament; when I am able to affirme that in my whole life I never sought or putt anybody to seeke for me either place, honour, land, or money; and that, I am sure, noe man can prove the contrary. And what fault can be proved in the administration of the other particulars I cannot foresee. It is true, the quartering of the army is against law; unlesse the custom of many ages in tymes of peace and war has made it legal. But either the King must, by raising the pay of the soldiers, enable them to pay for lodgings, or they must have them free, or there

must be no army. . . . As to the Government, if it has not been prudent yet it has been soe fortunate that the designs of all hands have not had success, and the Kingdom is quiet. For Justice," the Duke could proudly add, "I am at defiance with all the world to prove I have been partial or corrupt in my part of it. For the misapplication of the King's money, I am at the same defiance; allowing me reasonable liberty for charityes, bountys and most necessary intelligence, yet all within what such things amounted to in the yeares before my Government."<sup>1</sup>

Strong in the sense of his own integrity, strong in his singular self-control, Ormonde could afford to wait until the charges advanced against him were "judicially objected," since the "weaker the objection is, the less," he shrewdly observes, "should it be answered beforehand. For the answering of one weake or ill-proved accusation discredits all the rest." In fact, he was so little disturbed by his enemies' devices that he ends a long letter of instructions to Ossory with a little joke at the beloved son's expense.

"You doe not tell me," he says, "which of the horses you offered Colonel Cooke for my use it was, that gave you the fall. I assure you, unlesse I can pay my debts as you advise, my succession will not be worth a design to break my neck!"

If Buckingham could have had sight of this disdainfully cheerful epistle, it is possible he might not have thought himself assured of the Viceroyalty, or have proceeded to bestow posts in the gift of that office. Nevertheless, it must be said that Ormonde's friends did not take so confident a view of his situation. Their correspondence, at this time, contains repeated entreaties to Ormonde to come over to England. But the Duke was hard to persuade.

"As I have never desired any place of imployment from the King," he wrote, "so I will not desire to remove from any he has given me, till he shall think it fit, though it should be but for a time."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. pp. 53-4. Duke of Ormonde to Ossory, Dublin, 15th October 1667.

<sup>2</sup> *Ident.*, p. 61. Ormonde to Ossory, Kilkenny, 25th October 1667.

He was also convinced that the sole chance of redeeming the Ormonde estates from their crushing weight of debt, was through the moneys to which he was entitled by the Act of Settlement. He was aware they would "hardly be brought in" during his absence, unless his successor happened to be a particular friend.<sup>1</sup> His very acquittal by the House of Commons would therefore prove as ruinous to him as condemnation to another. Consequently, he hoped he would not be summoned to England.

"If my long continuance in the Government," he remarked, "has hitherto served only to overwhelm me with debt, and if my absolute remove takes from me all possibility of recovering myself, discountenances my innocence, and encourages clamourous accusations, as all this it will do, I may hope the King may think it reasonable I may redeem myself in the same place where, for his service, I am brought into the danger of ruin; at least, that he will preserve his own right in the manner of calling me hence if it should come to that."

Reluctant as Ormonde was to "bragg of past service," this was nevertheless so vital a matter to him that he thought "it may not unusefully to the King be remembered that no opposition or temptation ever frightened or allured him from his duty to the Crown." The assertion was indisputable. Yet it was ill pleading past services with Clarendon's master.

In February Parliament met, and Buckingham easily secured the appointment of a Committee, composed of his allies, to investigate the Duke's administration. This body began its labours by enquiring into the exportation of Irish wool. On finding, however, that Ormonde had safeguarded himself from attack in that quarter by refusing to grant export licenses, they, perforce, fell back on Alderman Barker's suit. But here disappointment again awaited them. They had counted on proving that a portion of the latter's property had been assigned to Ormonde. When this was ascertained to be a malicious fable, it brought about the entire collapse of the Barker case. A

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 70. Ormonde to Ossory, Dublin, 23rd November 1667.

private member, Sir C. Wheeler, moved that the sums voted for the repayment of the debts the Duke had contracted on behalf of the Crown should be assigned to the royal exchequer, but no one seconded the motion, and "so it died with shame to the author." Thus, hitherto, Ormonde could be reckoned successful, as, indeed, he was bound to be, when his opponents descended from vague insinuation to concrete charges. And it was evidently less for his personal satisfaction than to reassure his well-wishers that he asked and obtained the King's permission to hold in reserve the power of coming to England at his own pleasure, leaving meanwhile his authority to Ossory. This request was instantly granted. Ormonde was in possession of the royal license towards the beginning of 1668, and Ossory rejoined his father in Dublin in March. Yet it is probable that the Lord-Lieutenant would have persisted in his first resolution and remained at his post, if he had not become aware that the ablest man in Ireland had joined forces with Buckingham.

Hitherto Orrery's relations with Ormonde, as their correspondence attests, had remained no less cordial than the Duchess, from the first, had desired. Orrery's style was habitually studded with superlatives, but in writing to the Duke he surpassed himself. In fact, after the perusal of his replies to Ormonde's communications, private and public, it becomes something of a problem as to the terms he could hold in reserve for address to the Deity he so frequently invoked. Roger Boyle was a person of infinite resource, otherwise one would imagine that he must have exhausted even the seventeenth-century vocabulary for gratitude and abasement in his epistles to Ormonde. By the spring of 1668, Orrery had, however, begun to question the profit to be derived from a continued adhesion to Ormonde. The Earl was probably the best financier Ireland owned. No intrigue was too tortuous for his unravelling, or, indeed, for his spinning. His services were, therefore, of incalculable value to Ormonde's opponents, and before long they

showed their appreciation of the fact. They had already vainly sought by the aid of threats and bribes to detach Lord Anglesea, the Irish Vice-Treasurer, from Ormonde. Sir Robert Howard now wrote and begged Orrery to assist him and Buckingham in making out a case against the Lord-Lieutenant. Thus nakedly set forth, the proposition was too brutal to appeal to so fine an intellect.<sup>1</sup> Orrery replied that he was an unequal match for the Lord-Lieutenant, and would probably sink under the other's power and interest. This was scarcely the language of devotion, and Howard did not leave the matter there. Charles was induced to write to Orrery, assuring him that his friendship was unalterable, and could never be affected by any man's ill offices.

If a royal pledge carried immunity, Orrery could now consider himself safe, but he knew the world in general, and the Monarch in particular, too well to burn his boats on that score. He therefore informed the Duke that he was the object of solicitation from the latter's opponents. But he did this in such general terms that it deprived the communication of all value. And when Ormonde pressed Orrery to let him know what charges were being preferred against him, Lord Orrery forwarded a set of articles, which the Duke deemed "too senseless to be real."<sup>2</sup>

Although for some time past, Ormonde had been warned of Orrery's impending defection, he had long refused to give these warnings credit. Now, a variety of incidents recurred to strengthen the suspicion which the supposititious articles, as he conceived them to be, had first awakened. When Orrery requested leave of absence from his Presidency, for the purpose of going to England, the Duke's doubts became certainties. Ormonde knew that the journey was too inconvenient and expensive to be undertaken except for some proportionate advantage. Like the Psalmist, it was not an open enemy that Ormonde feared. Charles still retained sufficient liking for the Duke to detect the personal animus underlying

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 331.

charges advanced against him and to discount them accordingly; but the insinuations of a seeming friend, who pretended that his reluctance to accuse Ormonde was overcome only by a sense of public duty, were infinitely more perilous. When, too, these hints were advanced with all the skill and intimate knowledge of Irish affairs which Orrery possessed, they might well be deadly. Ormonde believed that if nobody "was on the spot to discover the fallacy, they might take deeper root, than to be with ease afterwards removed."<sup>1</sup> On April the 24th he therefore handed over the Sword of State to Ossory, and the next day found him disembarked in England.

The reception which Ormonde received on his arrival in London did not augur ill for the future. Crowds of gentlemen, some in coaches, and some on horseback, came to greet the man who, alone amongst those in power, represented the qualities which Englishmen have ever held in highest honour. Even Buckingham did not like to dissociate himself from the universal homage shown to Ormonde.<sup>2</sup> He paid him a ceremonious visit, vowing that he had no will or intention to do him harm. Ormonde's answer to these protestations has not been recorded, but he must certainly have received the King's assurances of his continued confidence with genuine satisfaction.

It was not merely to counteract Orrery's machinations that Ormonde had journeyed to England. The reduction of the Irish Establishment had long been under anxious consideration, and Charles wished to discuss the proposed schemes with Ormonde. The King himself could not more ardently desire to put the Government of Ireland on a self-supporting basis than did the Viceroy. Indeed, Ormonde was desirous to reduce the military as well as the civil list, knowing that a better paid if smaller army would be far more efficient than the present crowd of starving soldiery, whose natural discontent formed a perpetual menace to the State. He had a clearer

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 334.

notion, however, of the difficulties attending these operations than his royal master, who, like the majority of spendthrifts, believed that economy was easily attainable in all departments unconnected with his private comfort or pleasures.

There were also other plans which Ormonde hoped to forward by his presence at Court. The entire Irish nation longed for two measures—an Act of Oblivion and Pardon for past offences, and the limitation of the royal title to property. Nor could it be denied that the process of collecting the revenues stood in urgent need of revision. But to carry out these reforms it would be necessary to call a Parliament; and although Charles at first assented to the proposal, agreeing that Ormonde should return to Dublin in August for that very purpose, in June the arrival of Orrery brought all these fine projects to a standstill.

Orrery had been detained in Ireland by his old enemy, the gout, but although he reached England in a crippled condition his mental lucidity was unimpaired. In fact, his ever-acute intelligence was now vastly stimulated by the hope of succeeding to Ormonde's honours, a prospect which Buckingham and Ashley had dangled before his eyes, as the reward for his assistance in their crusade against the Duke. Even without this lure, however, Orrery would have had strong reasons for creating a diversion to the suggested reduction of the army, and the calling of Parliament. The first proposal meant the cashiering of the troops, who had been under his command since they came over to him from Inchiquin in 1649. The second proposal was equally unacceptable, since it was certain that an Irish Parliament would immediately open an enquiry into the doings of the Presidential Court of Munster.

By engaging to demonstrate that Irish receipts exceeded outgoings, Orrery at once obtained the ear of the impecunious Monarch. If the melancholy experience of many years did not bear out the Earl's contention, it was, he declared, the result of faulty or fraudulent administration. The golden vision of an overflowing

exchequer quite eclipsed the hopes of prosperity achieved by commonplace, plodding reforms, and, therewith, the intention of summoning Parliament fell to the ground. Ormonde perforce deferred his departure, and a Commission was appointed to enquire into the alleged malversation of Irish finances.

Since Buckingham and Ashley were members of the Commission, the public generally believed that its sole object was to discredit the Lord-Lieutenant. Ormonde, however, did all in his power to encourage and further their investigations. His common-sense told him that that deficiency in the funds, which could not be ascribed to the inherent poverty of the country, was largely due to the King's own warrants on the Treasury. These were ills hard to remedy; but, as he entertained an almost superstitious reverence for Orrery's financial talents, he was eager to allow that ingenious nobleman every chance of conjuring gold back into the empty Exchequer. He knew that he and Anglesea might be censured for obedience to the King's warrants. Yet the Lord-Lieutenant could comfort himself by reflecting that, with a single exception, he had recommended none but Anglesea and Orrery to the royal bounty, and that he had given Anglesea instructions to "prefer the establishment to all other payments."<sup>1</sup> The Vice-Treasurer must have been less at ease than his chief. He had incurred Buckingham's vengeance by refusing to do his dirty work, and saw every prospect of becoming the scapegoat to popular clamour. For Orrery's criticism of his accounts was of so stringent a nature that Ormonde had much trouble to obtain leave for Anglesea to be heard in his own defence; while proceedings were at once instituted against him, regardless of the fact that the vouchers on which he depended for his justification could not be quickly forthcoming.<sup>2</sup> It would need a financial expert to sift the evidence for and against Anglesea, still garnered

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. v. p. 100. Ormonde to Ossory, 2nd November 1668.

<sup>2</sup> See *Carte MSS.*, xxxvi. ff. 472-81. Report on Commission of Accounts, 28th August 1668.

in the Bodleian. Carte believed that it was largely fabricated in revenge against Ormonde's faithful ally.<sup>1</sup> Political animosity certainly inspired and directed an enquiry on lines we should consider subversive of elementary justice. Yet when all deductions are made on this score, it is evident that Anglesea was not a heaven-sent treasurer, nor indeed, as his conduct with regard to the nominees shows, a high-minded man. He had been rather eager to satisfy the King's drafts, than to provide for the legitimate needs of the administration. Undoubtedly, also, he had been remiss in checking payments due to the Exchequer. Eventually, he cleared himself of the charges against his honour, wherein he was certainly lucky. As regards his claims to careful and clever stewardship he was less fortunate.

The net outcome of the investigation was not, however, so gloomy as Ormonde's critics had announced and hoped. In 1661-2, the year the Duke took office, the charges in excess of the Revenue were £60,645. In 1668 the outstanding deficit had sunk to £31,136.<sup>2</sup> It is true that, at the latter date, unpaid arrears on the civil and military list reached a total of £175,902. But the discrepancy between debit and credit becomes less appalling when it is borne in mind that the payments due to the Crown represented no less than £115,737, leaving therefore, an unsecured debt of £60,165. During the years of Ormonde's Government, Ireland had been systematically bled and plundered by an English Parliament and an English King. Had Ormonde been a financial genius it is just conceivable that the national balance sheet might have been more satisfactory. But it is quite certain that, if he had not been the soul of honesty, the balance against the Treasury must have been far heavier.

Arlington's affection for his brother-in-law, Lord Ossory, was one of the few genuine sentiments that can be put to that statesman's credit. The sailor-earl regarding

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxvii. f. 68. Answers of Barons of Exchequer concerning Lord Anglesea's accounts, December 1669.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 342.

his own interests and those of the Duke as inseparable, Arlington, consequently, found himself constrained to throw his ægis over Ossory's father. Had it been otherwise, Ormonde's fortunes might more nearly have resembled Clarendon's, since the natural affinities between the Duke and Arlington were slight. Lord Arlington made it a specific complaint that the elder nobleman was not so "acknowledging" [as he should have been for services rendered.<sup>1</sup>] In other words, Ormonde did not speak the language of Orrery and contemporary courtiers; a speech which being reported, drew from his grace the already quoted reflection: "That Lord expects to be treated as if he had been born with a blue ribbon, and forgets Harry Bennet, that was but a very little gentleman."

Apart, however, from these instinctive antipathies, Arlington had cogent reasons for not identifying himself with the Duke. Not only did he suspect Ormonde—quite erroneously—of plotting Clarendon's recall, but the slightest championship of the Lord-Lieutenant inevitably placed him in conflict with Buckingham. Arlington therefore confined his influence on Ormonde's behalf almost exclusively, to the Duke's personal and monetary affairs. Thus, when it transpired that, contrary to express engagements, the King had signed an order giving priority of payment to other creditors over the Duke's bond of £50,000 on the Treasury, Arlington caused the warrant to be revoked. This was no small boon; for it will be remembered that Ormonde had sacrificed his claim to far greater sums to secure ready money. Postponement of payment would have brought him to the verge of ruin. It must also be admitted that the fashion in which his wrongs were righted cannot have been disagreeable to Ormonde. Charles received the Duke's thanks in the most gracious manner, assuring him that "he could not have done so unkind a thing knowingly."<sup>2</sup> Ormonde might well have regarded the incident as auguring well for his political fortunes. But he was too shrewd not to notice that, on

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 695.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. v. p. 97. Ormonde to Ossory, 26th September 1668.

this occasion, Arlington would gladly have dispensed with grateful speeches. The conclusion to be drawn from the minister's attitude was obvious. Arlington was willing enough to serve Ossory's father by stealth, but he was determined not to be compromised by an open advocacy of Buckingham's rival.

To this double policy Arlington adhered throughout the autumn and winter of 1668. He urged Ormonde to resign or to delegate his authority to three justices, of whom, although one would be Ossory, the other two were to be chosen among the Duke's most bitter opponents. Ormonde could thus have retained the sweets of office and a semblance of power, while disarming dangerous hostilities. But the expedient was not to the Lord-Lieutenant's mind. Pride and prudence alike rejected the suggestion. Meanwhile, the months went by and Ormonde still remained Viceroy. In November, indeed, Arlington and Buckingham fell out; but as their interests demanded a reconciliation the quarrel was short-lived. It was, however, daily becoming more urgent for Buckingham to compass Ormonde's disgrace. The Lord-Lieutenant was the rallying point of all those respectable, steady politicians, who, though temporarily depressed, were sure, sooner or later, to recover their influence. Parliament was about to meet, and if at that date Ormonde still retained office it would be a deadly blow to Buckingham's prestige. It was only by appearing supreme with the King that he could triumph; and, consequently, he and his allies, who were also Charles's chosen intimates, never ceased to harass the easy-going monarch with prayers and demands for Ormonde's dismissal.

In July 1668, Lady Arran died at Chapelizod. The Duchess had been devoted to this daughter-in-law and sincerely mourned her loss. Nor when Elizabeth came to England was her personal grief lessened by the sight of Lord Arran's misery. The love of husband and wife is certainly no modern development,<sup>1</sup> but amongst the

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., N.S., vol. iii. p. 437. Duchess of Ormonde to G. Mathew, 12th September 1668.

courtiers of that period a sorrow such as Arran's was rare. Had it not been for the dangers threatening his father, he would apparently have tried the distractions of foreign travel. But Ossory being in Ireland, he could not desert Ormonde, and it is to be feared that eventually he sought forgetfulness in less reputable methods of consolation. His intemperance became a serious anxiety to his family, and although he ultimately succeeded in curing himself of this bad habit, it doubtless helped to undermine his health and to bring about his premature death.

Domestic bereavements and political agitations were not the sole troubles Elizabeth Ormonde had to face at this juncture. No one could accuse the Duchess of being niggardly. Naturally generous, it was a cardinal axiom of her faith that Ormonde's credit was bound up with the sumptuously decorous maintenance of his household. Perhaps the best instance of her munificent ideals was a certain supper she improvised at very short notice for the King. Charles had proposed himself, and she was determined that he should be suitably entertained. She consulted about it, says the admiring Carte,<sup>1</sup> with Mr James Clarke, a person of good sense, very careful and of great goodness and probity, who, as steward, had the ordering of everything within the house, and "was a generous man in his nature, loved to do things handsomely, and understood it well; but was still for taking care of the main chance." He thought several items for the feast might be spared, which Her Grace proposed, but she, insisting on her own purpose, told him she had a very good opinion of him and thought he understood everything within his sphere; "but," says she, "you must have the same good opinion of me likewise to understand what is fittest for me in my own sphere." As the supper cost £2,000 it is only just to acquit Mr Clarke of penuriousness.

Nevertheless, if Elizabeth Ormonde thought her lord's honour was concerned in keeping up a splendid establishment, she was neither a careless nor a negligent steward of his goods. Her numerous letters attest the minute

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 667.

attention she accorded to every detail connected with the welfare or improvement of houses and estates. These same letters, it should be said, are models of their kind, as strongly stamped with individuality as the good lady's handwriting, showing that although Elizabeth never shirked a responsibility or a decision, she was equally amenable to sound advice; and that while always clear, and even—on occasions—picturesque, she knew how to avoid the essentially feminine snare of prolixity. To no one did she resign the duty of checking the weekly bills; and she was genuinely disturbed when she discovered that the clerk of the kitchen was not "as just as he ought to be."<sup>1</sup> The touch of nature which makes the ages akin is reached when she remarks: "So strange a time this is for servants, as people of all degrees complain that they were never so bad before,"<sup>2</sup> but she did not sit supinely down to bewail the innate depravity of the tribe. Although she must have been sorely harassed at that moment by affairs of far greater magnitude, and her husband's fortunes were on their trial, they did not make her lose sight of the clerk's misdemeanours, and she lost no time in replacing the sinner "with one that shall better discharge that employment than he, and is"—rather a strange recommendation—"a single man."

Knowing that Ormonde was hard pressed for money, the Duchess arrived in England filled with laudable resolutions. She proudly told George Mathew, her brother-in-law and trusted comptroller, that she had been "so good a manager of her own" that out of the £300 she had drawn to defray her travelling expenses, she had contrived to save £60, "which has purchased me all that I shall lay out upon myself until Christmas next." As the hire of the two ships, which the Duchess had chartered to convey herself and her equipages from Ireland to Minehead, amounted to £65, she could certainly take pride unto herself for thrift.

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 438. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 19th September 1668.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 440. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 5th December 1668.

Her present necessities, and her own mood notwithstanding, Elizabeth Ormonde was, however, too innately liberal to be a censorious critic of expenditure, even when it was that incurred by her daughter-in-law. Nor would she probably have been moved to complaint had it not been for Emilia's method, or rather want of method, in housekeeping. This grieved the Duchess's seemly spirit to the core. The young couple were then in Dublin, where Ossory was acting as his father's deputy, and the Duchess trembled at the thought of the bills they must be running up. For in London, as she told Mathew, she found that her eldest son was indebted to many tradesmen,

"who complain of him to be a bad pay-master, and I cannot," says the Duchess, "but fear and suspect him so, because that neither he nor his lady does know what their debts are, or to whom they owe, though the greatest part is hers, who gave so large a power unto her servants to go on the score, without looking nor counting the bills herself. And this prejudice," the Duchess continued, "will be still, unless you can prevail with one or both of them, to manage their expenses with more care, or to be concerned in the government of the family, which I do fear my daughter will not apply herself to, for I hear she eats more in her chamber than at the table, which is not the way to live with that decency that both now is, and will be, hereafter, expected from her. And I believe her debts at Dublin are great, so as I know now what course of life they can propose unto themselves if they run out of all compass after all the help they have had from us both in Ireland and here."<sup>1</sup>

Bearing in mind, not only these repeated grants in aid, but Ossory's unlucky pre-nuptial boasts of the accomplished Emilia's genius for housekeeping, the Duchess showed no less forbearance than tact in beseeching Mathew to bestow the much needed advice "from yourself, without naming me, to avoid my daughter taking any exception, as possibly she might, at my finding fault."

It was clearly for the good of the House of Butler

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 439. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 22nd November 1668.

that Emilia should lay Mathew's monitions to heart. But, even if she amended the error of her ways, the Duke would still remain confronted with the necessity of finding the means to pay Lady Ossory's back bills, besides a sum of £400, half a year's interest on the purchase money of Moor Park. It was a small sum in comparison to that cheerfully lavished on a royal supper, but its non-payment had, the Duchess confessed, "drawn some clamour upon my lord," and such clamours not being to her liking, she thought it advisable to pawn a pair of diamond pendants worth £700. She recognised, however, that this could only be a temporary expedient. It was to the sale of Moor Park that she looked to secure any considerable relief from the many heavy charges on Ormonde's income. A couple of years passed before she could achieve her purpose, and then the house, with its clipped avenues and ingenious arbours, became the property of the Duke of Monmouth.

In writing to Ossory on the 9th of February 1669, Ormonde remarked that he had more reason than ever to be confident that the King neither was, nor would be, prevailed upon to remove him from the Government of Ireland, or to make any alteration in it. The Duke hoped to return there, and to do the King some further service, and then,

"having settled my own affairs, I hope," he said, "I shall have leave to free myself from a burden which must grow heavier as I grow older and from which I shall desire to be eased, so it may be voluntarily and without real dishonour."<sup>1</sup>

Two days later, Dr Sheridan, Ormonde's Chaplain, arrived with a report that scarcely tallied with these optimistic views. At a "merry entertainment," the previous night, Buckingham and his friends had at last triumphed over the King's hesitations and secured his promise to dismiss Ormonde the following day. Accordingly, that same evening the Duke went to Court to learn his fate. Instead of receiving the anticipated intelligence, he was, however, welcomed by Charles in a fashion which

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 348.

convinced him that Sheridan's informant was at fault. Never, he assured his Chaplain, had His Majesty shown himself more obliging or caressed him so much. As Burnet remarks, the whole episode gives a "particular character of the King's temper,"<sup>1</sup> for Ormonde's dismissal was determined and Charles had already bestowed the Viceroyalty on another. Yet, when Ormonde went to him the next morning to come to an understanding in the matter, the King still shilly-shallied and finally replied that although he had thought of making a change, he had as yet come to no fixed resolution.<sup>2</sup> According to Burnet, he subsequently accounted for these prevarications by alleging that having noticed the Duke to be in a "heat," he was afraid of speaking lest Ormonde "might have said some indecent things, and he was resolved not to fall out with him." It is quite possible that Charles put forward this excuse, but he must have known it to be false. An outbreak on the Duke's part was never to be apprehended. Only recently, he had cautioned Ossory, should the case arise, sedulously to avoid giving vent to any expressions of resentment on his behalf. In truth, prudential reasons apart, Ormonde was alike too proud and too dutiful to lose his temper with his Sovereign, and this Charles well knew. The fact is the King was ashamed of dealing the blow himself. He always disliked unpleasant interviews, and he preferred deputing the task to Arlington.

On February the 14th, at a meeting of the Privy Council, the King made his decision public. His Majesty, says Ormonde,

"declared without stop or hesitation (which sometymes happen in his discourse) how well he was satisfied with my 30 years' service to his father and himself; that the change he now made was not out of distrust or displeasure, as should appear by admitting me into the most secret and important parts of his affaires, and that nobody should have a higher or nearer place in his esteeme and confidence."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 481.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. v. p. 103. Ormonde to Ossory, 16th February 1668.

These were fair words ; and Ormonde's enemies could not find room for censure in his reply. It was made, he himself says,

"with all submission to the King's pleasure, and with all satisfaction in his approbation of my service, beyond any trouble I received from the scandals that had been raised against me and my Government. And I concluded with protestations that my principle and practice had been, and ever should be, to serve him when and where, and in what station it should please him to appoint me."

As ever, the Duke's protestations were no vain lip service.

"I knew," he wrote to his devoted son and Deputy, "you understand it to be your duty to be soe far from murmuring at the King's election, that you will suppresse all who should presume to disapprove of it, or speake disrespectfully of the person (the new Viceroy) chosen. I am sure I should never owne them to be my friends who shall doe it. . . . During your being in the charge," he adds, "slack nothing, but be rather more dilligent in the King's service ; and if you can, get the torys supprest, that his majesties kingdome may be delivered up by us in as much peace and order, as I found it in warr and confusion when I was first lieutenant."

The "person chosen" to succeed Ormonde proved—much to the disgust of Buckingham and his allies—to be the Lord-Keeper, Lord Robartes, better known, perhaps, by his later title of Earl of Radnor. Save in his impeccable honesty, he was a curious contrast to his predecessor. His qualities did not take the form of *la vertue aimable*, which, whatever Anglo - Saxons may profess, is just as dear to them as to their neighbours overseas. "Sullen and morose, believed to be severely just, and as wise as a cynical humour could allow him to be,"<sup>1</sup> is Burnet's judgment of Lord Robartes—a judgment endorsed by the majority of contemporaries. The devout Lady Russell has preserved a characteristic anecdote of this unbending moralist. On being summoned one Sunday

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 48 and note.

to a Council, he declined to come, saying he must serve God before the King, a very proper sentiment, but also, it must be owned, distinctly pleasurable to the speaker, since it carried a scarcely covert rebuke to his less godly colleagues. In any case, such a man was fatally handicapped for the governance of a nation, peculiarly sensitive to manner and personality. Succeeding Ormonde, whose courtesy and charm were proverbial, he was foredoomed to failure. "Stiff, solemn, and formal in his manner, and uncomplaisant in his address, or reception of persons," from the first he contrived, in spite of excellent intentions, to arouse the dislike, or, worse still, the mockery of his new subjects. Some of the gentlemen who waited on him were moved to downright anger, "whilst the wiser sort of them, thought his carriage so ridiculous that they only treated it as a subject of laughter."<sup>1</sup>

Probably, the people who viewed the new Lord-Lieutenant's blunders most leniently were Ormonde's friends and family; for Orrery's failure to secure the object of his intrigues was balm to their wounded spirits. Even Arlington, who was, at best, a very half-hearted advocate of Ormonde's cause, chuckles over Orrery's disappointment. "It will be no small mortification to him to have so long hunted a game, that others have taken,"<sup>2</sup> he remarks. Naturally, Elizabeth Ormonde was more emphatic. Perhaps she had resented Orrery's double dealing the more, since it was she who had first introduced him to Ormonde's intimacy, while for no one had Orrery paraded a more ostentatious devotion than for my lady Duchess. However that may be, her utterances on the subject are a precious human document. They constitute a claim on the sympathy of all true wives—indeed, of all warm-hearted women. After telling Mathew that she is persuaded the new Lieutenant will be very just and friendly to Ormonde and his family, she proceeds,

"and not so indulgent, I suppose, to my Lord of Orrery as my lord was, he understanding very well what that

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 355-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 349.

person has been from the beginning, and what he is still—the most false and ungrateful man living—and under that esteem I can assure you he passes here with all the considerable persons of this Kingdom, and I hear he is dejected at this disappointment he has met with, and so are all his adherents, which is some satisfaction yet, and more I expect will be the downfall of some ere long that has been my Lord's enemies, whilst he preserves," the Duchess proudly says, "a reputation beyond what any of them can boast, and has at this time the kindness and respect of all this nation, beyond what he ever had."<sup>1</sup>

So much for Orrery's future; but, meanwhile, the Duchess realised that the readjustment of the scale of living must absorb her attention. The two prime objects she strove to combine were the speedy reduction of the Deputy's household, and the comfort of the incoming Viceroy and his lady. She was therefore urgent that Ossory and his family should quit the Castle as soon as possible, leaving the servants a free field for their double labour of removing Ormonde's furniture to Dunmore, and "clearing the house for the new Governor."<sup>2</sup>

"When any person comes from the Lord Robartes to make provision for him, I would have," she says, "the Stewart and Controller to be civil in offering him any ordinary assistance that he may require, as I have done the Lady Robartes of anything in the Castle belonging to us that may be useful to her until her goods come over."

At the same time, the excellent Duchess was careful that the ordinary business routine should be observed. No Mayfair house agent indeed could be more precise. She hoped that the new Lieutenant would take over the provisions of coal, beer, oats, hay, wine, and the like, accumulated in the viceregal cellars and barns, and she declared herself prepared to part with the "bedsteads for servants, tables, and such lumber, at a valuation"<sup>3</sup> Nor

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. ii. p. 443. Lady Ormonde to Mathew, March 1668-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. iii. p. 441. Lady Ormonde to Mathew, 16th February 1668-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*.

did she forget to remind Mathew that she had herself bought all the locks and keys throughout the Castle, and "particularly those belonging to my lord's closet and my own chamber, with the iron racks in the several chimnies."

Perhaps the Duchess felt that she must be the more explicit in enumerating her household gear, as she was not minded to give the feckless Emilia a power of attorney in these matters. In fact, she had evidently resolved to leave but little to her daughter-in-law's ordering. For she tells Mathew that she had not only laid in sufficient beer for her own intended three months' visit to Kilkenny, but also for "my son's family, where I leave them wine and all provisions also."<sup>1</sup> Clearly, Emilia was not again to have the opportunity of "running up scores." Undoubtedly, at this juncture, the Duchess's prudence was no less necessary than edifying. At first, as he told Arlington, Ormonde did not believe that he could afford to make his home in England. This would have been a small grief to the minister, who was haunted by a dread of Ormonde's possibly adverse influence. But the family finances did not allow of two costly establishments; and if Ormonde lived in Ireland, Ossory also would have to make his head-quarters in that country. Arlington would thus have lost his brother-in-law's companionship; and it is to this cause we must attribute the fact that the minister did not oppose the monetary arrangement Ormonde now submitted to the King.

The £50,000, of which mention has been lately made, was not the Crown's sole unredeemed obligation towards Ormonde. £48,356, 2s. 8d. still remained undischarged, though guaranteed by both Acts of Settlement. The fact is that this debt had been somewhat awkwardly assigned, being charged not on the general compensation fund raised by adventurers, soldiers, and grantees, but on the last £100,000 of that stock. This latter sum not being forthcoming, recourse might have been had to the second provision devised for safeguarding Ormonde's

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 443, 6th March.

claims—a general tax apportioned on the Kingdom at the discretion of the Viceroy and Council. But Ormonde would not consent to impose a tax merely for his own advantage. And what he had refused to do for himself he knew his successors would not attempt. He consequently proposed to transfer the entire debt to the King, receiving from him £5,000 a year charged on quit rents until its complete extinction. As Charles was still uncomfortably conscious of the shabby fashion in which he had behaved to Ormonde, he readily assented to the scheme. But his Ministers, being determined to drive a closer bargain, made the annuity, except in certain unlikely conditions, payable only for four years—a reduction of £28,356 on the sum to which the Duke was entitled. Even this £20,000 proved, however, hard to procure, for it lay with the Crown to decide whether quit rents should be levied. After the first year's payment, Ormonde's successors in the Vice-royalty refused to do so, and thus, once more, contrived to circumvent the payment of the Duke's debts.

At this particular moment, however, his budget being, to all appearance, satisfactorily arranged, the Duke decided to remain in England to perform his duties as Lord-Steward, while the Duchess went to Ireland to wind up his affairs, where she not only settled all the details which stood in need of her decision, but passed all Ormonde's houses and worldly gear in review. She met with a reception eloquent of the respect and affection she had inspired, and after a six months' absence returned to England and the Duke.

Lady Robartes seems to have been an amiable woman, grateful for the Duchess's advice and assistance. Indeed, it was a pity she could not instil something of her own good manners into her husband, whose crabbed, boorish ways sadly hampered the execution of his most laudable designs. To Ormonde he appeared to be well-disposed. Yet he preferred to lose three months' salary by quibbling over the complimentary sentences on the Duke's career, inserted in his commission, rather than give his assent to the document thus drafted. Eventually, Charles remaining

firm, he yielded, though with a very bad grace. It was lucky that Robartes had to deal with Ormonde and not with some of his other contemporaries, since an opportunity, which a more petty-minded person would not have neglected, shortly presented itself to the Duke for repaying the slight with usury.

The Buckingham Cabal, who viewed Robartes's appointment only less angrily than Ormonde's retention of office, did their best to tie the new Viceroy's hands by vexatious provisos and regulations.<sup>1</sup> The King, moreover, would gladly have reserved the disposition of all military posts to himself. Indeed, had it not been for Ormonde's ex-postulations, Robartes would have deserved no little pity, but his predecessor's remonstrances carried the day, and the Lieutenantcy remained unshorn of its ancient prerogatives. It may seem strange that immediately on his disgrace the Duke's arguments should prove more effectual than during his tenure of office. Ormonde's administration, however, having ceased to be the chief mark of attack for Buckingham's partisans, the King was once more at liberty to use his own shrewd judgment—which was all to Ormonde's advantage. Even the Duke's much discussed financial miscarriages, or rather, Anglesea's, which it was convenient to transfer to the Lord-Lieutenant's shoulders, became less heinous when the Monarch himself began to realise that the wit of man could not compass the making of Ireland into a self-supporting entity. In fact, at this very juncture, Charles showed his trust in Ormonde by requiring his guidance and direction in a somewhat delicate undertaking. The reduction of the Irish army was a foregone conclusion. Charles now determined to carry it out at the expense of officers, instead of privates, by discharging those of the former whose loyalty was dubious. In his perplexity, he asked and obtained of Ormonde the impartial guidance of which he stood in need.

The Duchess of Ormonde's servants must eventually have had ample leisure to prepare Dublin Castle for

<sup>1</sup> Carte, p. 357.

Lord Robartes's advent. He did not reach Ireland until September. Ormonde's adversaries had counted on Robartes to ferret out numberless errors and negligences in his predecessor's administration, but they were disappointed. To a cross-grained nature like Lord Robartes, the opportunity for censure seldom comes amiss. He was, however, scrupulously honest, and did not remedy the want of material by the invention of delinquencies. This attitude was grievous to Ormonde's foes, who henceforth sedulously fostered the many misunderstandings that arose between Robartes and the Sovereign. At last, goaded out of all patience, Lord Robartes, in "one of his peevish humours,"<sup>1</sup> wrote to the King saying that the sole favour he asked was to be relieved of office. Much to his surprise and mortification, the Monarch took him at his word. In May 1670 he was replaced by Lord Berkeley of Stratton, who, it is said, owed his nomination to Barbara Villiers.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 481.

## CHAPTER V

### LIBELS AND MURDER PLOTS

ON Elizabeth Ormonde's return to England in July 1669, the Duke went to meet her at a seat of his ranger Colonel Cooke, proceeding thence to Oxford to be feasted and made a Doctor of Civil Law. These compliments were preliminary to higher honours. When Lord Clarendon fled to France he resigned the Chancellorship of Oxford University, and Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, was elected in his stead. The Primate, however, considered himself too old to fulfil the duties of the post, and recommended Ormonde to the suffrages of the University, as

"a person whom I cannot mention," he declared, "but with all characters of honour; who, besides the eminency of his birth and dignities, hath made himself more illustrious by his virtues and merits by that constant integrity he hath in all fortunes borne to the King and Church and (which concerns them more particularly) by his love of letters and learned men. His quality," the Prelate continued, "will dignify their choice, his affection will improve his care over them, and his interest will be able at their need to support them."<sup>1</sup>

It is not surprising that such a eulogium, whose sonorous sentences the Great Lexicographer himself could hardly have surpassed, met with quick response. No sooner was the Archbishop's letter read at a meeting of Convocation held in August 1669, than Ormonde

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 105. Archbishop Sheldon to Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, 31st July 1669.

was unanimously elected Chancellor of the University. Yet, even without Sheldon's recommendation, the verdict might have been equally enthusiastic, for Ormonde's good deeds at Trinity College cannot have been without effect in the sister university.

On the 20th of the same month, the Duke's investiture was celebrated in London. The Vice-Chancellor, Doctor Fell, preceded by the bedells with their maces, and followed by a goodly cohort of bishops, doctors of faculties, and masters of colleges, robed in their several habits, marched in procession down the Strand from Exeter House to Worcester House. Here, Ormonde, supported by a chosen band of peers, received them, and after much making of speeches and taking of oaths, a sumptuous banquet concluded the ceremony.

At a moment when his enemies, having driven him from office, were striving to blast his reputation, the honours bestowed on him by honourable men must have been doubly precious to Ormonde. His truest safeguard, however, was his own high courage. Sir Robert Southwell loved to remember how at this very juncture, when present and future alike showed menacing, the Duke, while walking early one morning in Pall Mall with that faithful friend, and discussing the evil times on which he had fallen, concluded by saying: "Well, nothing of this shall yet break my heart, for however it may fare with me in Court, I am resolved to lie well in the Chronicle."<sup>1</sup>

Libels are not confined to any one epoch. But in the England of the seventeenth century, they were fast becoming the common substitute for the bravo's dagger of an earlier age. Few men have suffered more, and less deservedly, at the hands of pamphleteers than the Duke of Ormonde. And in the summer of 1669, when his recent dismissal exposed him to the slings and arrows of the venal tribe, the Grubb Street bullies naturally redoubled their attacks upon the old Cavalier.

"The Narrative of the Sale of Settlement of Ireland," though mainly aimed at Clarendon, did not spare the

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 365.

fallen Chancellor's friend. Ormonde was specifically charged with having been bribed into opposing the restitution of their estates to Irish Roman Catholics.<sup>1</sup> Peter Talbot, titular Archbishop of Dublin, was the anonymous author of the tract, and he can best be excused on the assumption that he imputed to Ormonde the characteristic attributes of the Talbot clan. The memories of that remarkably acquisitive family were not, however, wont to be faulty. No earlier than the Restoration, Peter Talbot had put on record his conviction that the preservation of the entire Irish nation was due to Ormonde's resolve that they should not be excluded from the Act of Indemnity. That in eight short years a circumstance of such importance should have escaped his memory was therefore passing strange.

"The Narrative of the Sale of Settlement" was not the sole libel of that nature published in 1669. "The Queries relating to the Revenue of Ireland, and the Duke of Ormonde," artfully suggested that the entire legislation of that kingdom had been engineered with the purpose of filling the Viceroy's pockets. A lie that is half a truth, is particularly hard to meet when it is presented in the guise of hard figures and statistics—when, moreover, for the ten people who read the piquant indictment, nine do not trouble to wade through a wearisome, technical refutation. This was certainly the case in this instance. It was undeniable that the Duke had received large grants of money and lands, and that Ireland was a miserably poor country. On this double foundation, the author of the "Queries" contrived to rear a vast fabric of misrepresentation. He carefully omitted to mention that the grants were mainly arrears of salary, or repayments of Ormonde's loans; and that no one had toiled more diligently, and at the cost of greater pecuniary sacrifices to promote the kingdom's welfare than this same vampire Lord-Lieutenant.

One or two of the minor blunders in the "Queries" should have sufficed to shake the confidence of any impartial enquirer in the tract as a whole.<sup>2</sup> The writer did not

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 408.

hesitate to assert that Ormonde had made £20,000 by forfeited leases and copyholds. Now, as it happened, there was not a single copyhold on the Butler estates, while those leases, that were unexpired at the date of the Settlement, were either confirmed to their holders, or bought up at market price by the Duke. In fact, so little extortionate was Ormonde in the renewal of leases that, in 1684, the whole estate was rated only £304 higher than in 1664.

When it came to dealing with Ormonde's profits from other sources the pamphlet was not more reliable. Every Lord-Steward had sold the minor offices in his gift. Ormonde would therefore have deserved little blame had he chosen to follow the precedent set him by his fore-runners. Instead, however, of making £32,000, as the "Queries" averred, under this head, Ormonde had realised no more than £16,000, preferring to treat these posts as a reward for suffering loyalty, to filling his own depleted exchequer. With regard to those that were at his disposal as Lord-Lieutenant, he was even more liberal. Merit, either in the individual, or in his near relatives, came to be recognised as the sole qualification for civil or military appointments in Ireland. But as Ormonde's official emoluments were calculated on the supposition that these posts would, as heretofore, be put up to auction, his own loss cannot have been inconsiderable. There was little poetical license in Dryden's character of "Barzillai."<sup>1</sup>

"Large was his wealth, but larger was his heart.  
Which well the noblest objects knew to choose,  
The fighting warrior and recording muse!"

Mention has already been made of the breaches in the family fortunes perpetrated by the Duke of Ormonde's loyalty. Undoubtedly, King and nation had sought to repair these. Yet, in the end, Ormonde remained a loser. Thus, the Irish Parliament had shown its appreciation of the Duke's services by the bestowal of £30,000, but "this free gift, so termed and so accepted," carried

<sup>1</sup> Absalom and Achitophel.

a proviso which somewhat neutralised its benefits.<sup>1</sup> By its acceptance, Ormonde was expressly debarred from taking any proceedings to recover rents or damages from the adventurers or soldiers, who had been in possession of his estates from 1653 to 1660. As the rents for that period were valued at £140,000, and the ensuing waste and destitution at another £50,000, the Parliament's action was not so munificent as it appeared, and as it was represented by the Duke's critics. Again, the £50,000 allotted to Ormonde by the Explanatory Act, and alleged to be another of his deeds of rapine, was a further instance of the same nature, being compensation for escheated holdings, estimated at a yearly rental of £31,906.

On this theme, and to the weariness of the reader, it would be easy to enlarge. Let it suffice that on casting up the tables of Ormonde's debit and credit account with the Sovereign, while the one column shows a respectable total of £146,083, the other reaches the astounding figure of £1,014,674. In that catalogue, doubtless, the Duke's agents included many claims, which, in the ordinary course of affairs, could never have been made good. Naturally, also, they must have reckoned his pretensions and expenditure on the scale most favourable to their Master. Nevertheless, from the estates given him, mainly in lieu of compensation for arrears of pay and loans to the royal service, Ormonde's net gain worked out at something under £3,000 a year.<sup>2</sup> When the Duke died, he left debts to the amount of £89,324, over and above those he had wiped out at a yearly cost of £7,179, by a system of annuities on his life.<sup>3</sup>

If the Duke had chosen to prosecute the publisher of the "Queries," his task would have been simple. Indeed, it was not long before the printer of the libel was found and thrown into gaol. He steadfastly refused, however, to disclose his principal's name, and was, in fact, so well cared for in prison that he did not even sue for

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 397.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 421.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 419.

a discharge. The public unanimously ascribed the authorship of the tract to one of the Duke of Buckingham's "crew." But as the writer's incognito could not be penetrated, and Ormonde considered the printer too insignificant for pursuit, no further steps were taken for the punishment of the slander.

It is a wise rule not to give over much importance to anonymous abuse; and Ormonde was probably right in the course he adopted towards the publisher of the "Queries." He acted otherwise with regard to Edward Brabazon, Earl of Meath and Irish Privy Councillor, the composer of a set of articles for Ormonde's impeachment.<sup>1</sup> Already, towards the end of the Duke's vice-royalty, Meath had advanced charges of misconduct against the troops quartered in a suburb of Dublin, where the Earl owned property. When the charges were sifted at the Irish Council Board, he was, however, unable to substantiate them; and stung, perhaps, by the ridicule he had incurred, he was the more determined on his next attempt to get his thrust home.<sup>2</sup>

Accordingly, in the beginning of 1669, Meath took ship for England, exhibiting his precious articles to every innkeeper on the road to London. He and his accusations were warmly welcomed by Buckingham, who was only restrained from moving the impeachment of his illustrious rival by the reflection that if it proved a failure it might recoil on his own head. If not capable of achieving the Duke of Ormonde's ruin, Meath seemed, however, a likely instrument for testing public opinion. He was consequently encouraged to persevere and to return to Ireland to collect more material for their common purpose. To Ireland, therefore, Meath repaired, where he was so open-mouthed in predicting the effects of his labours in the coming session, that Ormonde could not remain ignorant of the scandal he was causing. Indeed, Meath did not hesitate to declare that the Duke was on the point of running away to escape Strafford's fate. Such insinuations were more than Ormonde could

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 371-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 374.

tolerate. He had never feared to put his fortunes to the touch. He now petitioned the King to summon Lord Meath before the Privy Council, there to make good his statements.

Contemptible, and even ridiculous, as was the accuser, to those who remembered Wentworth's trial, there was a sinister ring in the charge of having exercised arbitrary power over the lives, liberties, and estates of His Majesty's subjects.<sup>1</sup> Lord Meath grounded this general indictment of Ormonde on certain specific instances: the execution of the Carrickfergus mutineers in 1663; the imprisonment of Dublin citizens for refusing to quarter soldiers, or to pay additional billet money; the eviction, for His Grace's sole benefit, of the great Sir William Petty and four adventurers from their holdings without due recourse to law; the disarming of Protestants in 1664, and the quartering of troops on the inhabitants of Dublin.<sup>2</sup>

At a most critical juncture, when the peace of the kingdom hinged on Ormonde's promptitude of action, the Duke did, probably, overstep the legal limitations of his powers. That the Carrickfergus rebels merited their fate, and that these executions were a needful warning and example to the army, cannot, however, be denied. By awaiting the verdict of a regular tribunal, Ormonde might well have imperilled the very existence of law in Ireland. It was also true that the imprisonment in 1663, of which Meath complained had taken place, but it was not for refusing to pay lodging or "billet money," as he averred, that these individuals suffered. Three out of four were committed to gaol for participation in the "Fanatics' Plot." The fourth victim spent a night in the guard-house, for attempting, at this troubrous time, to stir up strife between soldiery and citizens.

As to the charge concerning the Ormonde estates, if the adventurers in question could have made out the ghost of a case against the Duke, it is reasonable to suppose that they would have followed the example of Sir William Petty, who, on a previous occasion, had

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 384.

obtained a judgment in Court against the Lord-Lieutenant. After the chaos brought about by the Civil Wars and Cromwellian Settlement, deeds and conveyances having shared in the general havoc, Ormonde's representatives could not avoid some mistakes in reassuming possession of his estates. It was to their credit, and that of their master, that, in these circumstances, they made as few errors "as could be by any rational man expected."<sup>1</sup> The truth is that wherever, as in Kerry, doubts arose regarding his rights, despite all legal assurances to the contrary, Ormonde preferred to relinquish such properties.<sup>2</sup> His instructions to his agents that no adventurer or soldier should be "ousted by any colour, or pretence of title of his," were emphatic. Where they had been ejected, he promptly found means either to compensate or to receive them back as tenants.<sup>3</sup> In fact, if all great landlords, ecclesiastical and temporal, had adopted Ormonde's generous estate policy, the rigours of the Land Settlement would have been vastly mitigated.

To the disarming of the Protestants in 1664, Ormonde pleaded guilty. During a crisis, when the danger to the realm lay in that quarter, it was inevitable; and it was only the foolish susceptibilities of the English public which made it difficult to give this—the true—reason for his action. But Ormonde could sincerely allege that the order applied to all Irishmen, without distinction of Creed, that the arms recalled to the magazines were mostly royal property, and that at the first propitious moment they were again distributed to the Scottish and English settlers.

Thus all charges were satisfactorily repelled, with one exception—the illegal quartering of soldiers on the Dublin citizens, or the levying of a tax in lieu of the compulsory billeting. That troopers had been quartered in the town, and by Ormonde's orders, there was no doubt, though the tax was not of his imposition, but of the mayor or municipality's devising. Barracks, there were none, and a garrison was an evident necessity in Dublin. Nor had

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 386.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 386.

Ormonde's predecessors used any other methods. Nevertheless an act of Henry VI. could be interpreted to forbid the practice. And, indeed, it was on this obsolete statute that Lord Meath relied to bring home a charge of high treason, with all its awful consequences, to Ormonde; while the anxiety the accusations caused to the Duke's advisers shows that, in this single instance, Lord Meath had cause to hope for success. Precedent was wholly in Ormonde's favour.<sup>1</sup> But the letter of the law might be with Lord Meath, though, even then, the strange wording of the act prohibiting the quartering of "hoblers, kearnes, or hooded men" scarcely seemed applicable to Arran's buff-coated guardsmen. More effectual, however, for the Duke's defence with all sane minded beings than quibblings over antiquarian terminologies, was the fact that the troops were so popular in Dublin that the city would have viewed their departure as a calamity. The £30,000 they annually disbursed, annulled the tax the townspeople assessed on themselves to provide lodging for their defenders. That tax may, perhaps, be likened to the rate levied on itself by the modern health resort to pay for the improvements which attract the tourist and traveller. No rate is ever paid without some grumbling, but the withdrawal of the lucrative stranger would be a far greater hardship. In reply to Ormonde's petition, Meath was cited to appear within six weeks before the Council, and on August the 18th he consequently presented himself at Whitehall. But, on one pretext and another, he contrived to defer the actual investigation until the 1st of October. Accusations, which from afar "served well enough to make a noise," did not prove so well adapted to bear judicial scrutiny.<sup>2</sup> Meath's courage failed him, and all other evasions being exhausted, he took the desperate course of declining the Council's jurisdiction. He had no certainty, he declared, that after having pleaded before the Board, his case might not be dismissed to be determined by some other tribunal. Thus Ormonde, who had been grossly slandered, was debarred from obtaining a hearing. His injury and disappointment were great, and

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 374.

at first he seems to have meditated an appeal to the House of Lords. Finally, however, he contented himself with the redress which Charles was not slow to grant. Lord Meath's sorry shifts had thoroughly exasperated the King. He now gave orders that the Earl's name should be struck off the list of the Irish Privy Council, and forbade him the royal presence.<sup>1</sup> But, if rebuked and censured, Meath was not defeated, and for a while he threatened to carry his complaints to the House of Commons; though it is probable that these menaces were largely prompted by a desire to extort money from the Duke, for at the very moment when he was talking the loudest, he offered, on the receipt of £2,000, to suppress his articles against Ormonde.<sup>2</sup> The blackmailer received the answer he deserved. Nor would Ormonde entertain a subsequent proposal to buy his accuser's silence at the price of backing up Meath's ally, Lord Orrery, in the prosecution impending against that nobleman. This series of rebuffs wrought a marked change in Meath's attitude. He began to repent a course of action which had merely led to his ostracism from Court and Council; but for a whole twelvemonth he vainly sued for pardon. Charles had no mind to let him off easily, and it was not until Ormonde's consent had been asked and obtained that the King restored Meath to his position in the Privy Council.

There is something comic in the reflection that at the very time when Meath was championing the oppressed Dublin townsfolk, the latter were occupied in publishing to the world their regret for their late Governor. Partly, perhaps, from nervousness, but chiefly from a desire to cast a slur on the Duke's methods, Lord Robartes had refused to issue warrants for the quartering of soldiers on the inhabitants of Dublin. But instead of showing any gratitude for the so-called boon, the Lord Mayor and Common Council, indignant at the oblique reflection on Ormonde, took this opportunity to present Ossory with the freedom of the City.<sup>3</sup> The compliment was the

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 380.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 424.

greater since the Earl was the second person only to whom this honour had been paid.

"Be pleased," said the courtly cits in addressing Ossory, "be pleased to be named the second, since to the second no small addition is given by the first, Your Lordship's most gracious father, James, Duke of Ormonde, justly challenging the priority, whose very many excellencies have worthily fixed him in a pleasant prospect to this city and kingdom."

And that there might be no doubt of their intention, the citizens concluded by specifying among these said excellencies,

"those very many real and still continued favours from him derived to this city, when we had the happiness of living under the securer shade of his late, easy government of this city and kingdom; all which renders him to us princely in his virtues, unblemished in his loyalty and truly blessed in his offspring, Your Lordship being in truth the second edition of His Grace."

It is curious to note that the Viceroy, thus acclaimed by his former subjects, was the first Lord-Lieutenant who, on his retirement from office, was not offered a seat in the Committee of Irish Affairs at Whitehall. Knowing more of Ireland and Irishmen than any other contemporary statesman, Ormonde was thus debarred from utilising his knowledge for the benefit of his country. He had still sufficient credit with the Sovereign to recommend deserving individuals to the royal bounty; and he employed his influence for that purpose, although too proud to urge his own claims on the King. Yet, it is probable that the Duke's embarrassments had seldom been more acute than at this period. His removal from power had proved even more unfortunate for his affairs than he had anticipated. He was then on the point of being repaid a portion of the vast sums he had spent in the royal service. But with the advent of Robartes the process of reimbursement came abruptly to an end, and Berkeley sedulously modelled himself on Robartes's example. Indeed it would

seem that his successors found a distinct pleasure in thwarting their illustrious predecessor of his just dues. It will be remembered that Ormonde had assigned a debt of £48,000 to the King, on the understanding that the Sovereign made himself responsible for four yearly payments of £5,000. The initial sum duly reached the royal Exchequer, but after the first year's instalment it got no further. Berkeley was not anxious to oblige his predecessor, and the Duke was eventually thankful when a speculative alderman bought up his claims to the outstanding £15,000, for £11,000 paid down.

This transaction was, however, profitable compared to others forced upon him by the failure of the Government to keep its engagements. In compensation for the various rights he had agreed to relinquish, the nation had undertaken to pay £50,000 to Ormonde.<sup>1</sup> At the latest, this money should have been his by 1666. But it was carefully withheld until, with Essex's advent to power, the Treasury began to relax the austerity of its attitude towards the Duke. And even then it reached him shorn of £4,833 which, under the guise of fees, the Treasury contrived to retain.<sup>2</sup>

The financial methods of Lord Ranelagh and his fellow Commissioners for the Revenue of Ireland were not dissimilar from those of the *fermiers généraux*, at whom Voltaire launched some of his neatest gibes. Lord Ranelagh's prime object, or rather his secondary one—the first was to replenish his own pockets and those of his associates—was to keep Charles II. in a good temper. As he told his correspondents, whilst "the King is our friend we are and shall be safe, be our enemies never so many, nor so malicious and therefore in all things we must please and humour him."<sup>3</sup> Consequently, when Mathew, Ormonde's agent, obtained the King's order for the payment of a portion of Ormonde's dues, Ranelagh was transported

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 405, 411.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xl. f. 759. Mem. of Captain George Mathew, 9th December 1673.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. lxx. p. 429. Lord Ranelagh to Commissioners of Revenue in Ireland, 25th November 1673.

with rage at the prospect of wasting £5,000 in honouring the King's obligations, which would otherwise have served as royal hush money. He adjured the Commissioners to do all in their power to delay the payment, until he could obtain its revocation from the Monarch ; and if the worst came to the worst, he swore that he would get even with Ormonde by leaving "so much unpaid in His Grace's troop and his son's regiment, as this letter will take from us."<sup>1</sup>

As Ormonde freely admitted that his "understanding lay very crass" to finance, it may be imagined that he fared badly in a contest with such accomplished intriguers.<sup>2</sup> And meanwhile if he languished for his dues, he could not leave his creditors in the same plight. To extinguish the most pressing of his debts he borrowed £35,000, and as this loan carried 10 per cent. interest, another £19,000 had been added to the long list of his obligations before the official embargo on his moneys was raised. In the circumstances, it was a great relief when in 1672 he succeeded in selling Moor Park for £11,000 to the Duke of Monmouth.

Ormonde's difficulties, at this period, were not purely personal. He was greatly troubled by the persecution to which the change of administration had exposed the loyal Roman Catholic subscribers of the Remonstrance. Lord Robartes's tenure of office had been as brief as it had been unpopular. Seven short months after his landing in Ireland he departed, surrendering the Sword of State to Lord Berkeley of Stratton. This nobleman, the dashing Sir John Berkeley of the Civil Wars, had, for good or ill, kept himself well in view of the public during his chequered career. His principal feat, the guiding of Charles I. straight into Hammond's toils at Carisbrooke, should scarcely have recommended him to that ill-fated monarch's sons. Yet Berkeley was a prime favourite with the Duke of York, and, more important still, a great

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxx. p. 429. Lord Ranelagh to Commissioners of Revenue in Ireland, 29th December 1673.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 419. Ormonde to Southwell, Burford, 22nd January 1672-3.

friend of Jermyn. During the early years of the Restoration Sir John's advancement was, consequently, so rapid as to puzzle contemporaries ignorant of Court methods. Five years after the King's return he was able to build a palace on the site of the present Devonshire House, rivalling its much calumniated neighbour, Dunkirk House —a mansion whose departed glories are still kept in remembrance by the names of Stratton Street and Berkeley Square.<sup>1</sup>

No sooner did Berkeley arrive in Ireland than he was at once captured by the Ultramontane section of the Catholic Priesthood. Doubtless, Sir Ellis Leighton, the secretary and mentor bestowed on the Viceroy by Buckingham, was partly answerable for this occurrence. For Ellis, like his ducal protector, coquetted freely with the extremists in either camp, whether Presbyterian or Papist. Roman Catholics were accordingly admitted to corporations, while the titular Archbishop of Dublin, Peter Talbot, attended the Council in full ecclesiastical habit. What with Ormonde's removal, and his patron, Buckingham's triumph, Peter, at this period, must have felt that he was coming into his kingdom. Lord Berkeley actually lent him, on one occasion, the castle plate for a church festival, and on another expressed the hope that he might live to hear Mass sung at Christ Church. Yet, strange to say, Talbot was not so satisfied with the new Governor, as he might well have been. "Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien," says the French proverb. Being in close correspondence with George Villiers, the Archbishop took the Duke's announcement of Berkeley's downfall and his own impending advent rather more seriously than was wise, allowing the glorious possibilities of Buckingham's reign to blind him to the solid advantages he was enjoying under Berkeley.

When Ormonde left Dublin, only three Nuncioist bishops, two of whom were bedridden, survived to cherish the tenets of that stormy epoch, the actual episcopate being rather concerned with the care of religion than the inculcation of rebellion. Talbot, however, was bent on

<sup>1</sup> D. N. B., article on Lord Berkeley of Stratton.

imparting a diametrically opposite complexion to the Irish hierarchy. He would tolerate no compromise with heretic rulers, and set himself to work to suppress all ecclesiastics, regular and secular, who had subscribed the Remonstrance. Berkeley's arrival in Ireland was followed by meetings, or congregations, of Roman Catholic Clergy throughout the country, and these assemblies gave Talbot an opportunity for destroying the moderate section. In 1668, the latter had aroused a certain amount of resentment against themselves by the unscrupulous action in their favour of a certain James Taafe who, thanks to a forged commission, had for a while passed himself off as Vicar General. Taafe's misdoings were now visited on the defenceless Remonstrants. Unfashionable as the formulary had again become, the Franciscan order, nevertheless, still contained many adherents of Peter Walsh. These were generally the most thoughtful members of the community, scholars and men of unblemished lives. With the rank and file of Irish Catholics, the Remonstrance had been no more popular than are usually the counsels of moderation with the mass of mankind. Talbot, consequently, was enthusiastically seconded by the vast majority of monks and friars. The Remonstrants were excommunicated, summarily deprived, and hunted out of their monasteries, those parish priests who had associated themselves with Walsh's unlucky formulary, sharing their lot.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in a short time, the loyal Catholic Clergy were confronted with the option of starving at home, or possibly of feeding the bonfires of the Inquisition, if they ventured abroad, as Ormonde put it,

"Like the unhappy fishes which are devoured by other fishes if they swim, by ravenous fowl if they fly; their case is that in Ireland they will starve, in foreign parts they may burn."<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile, the representatives of the Sovereign for whom

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 428.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlv. p. 364. Ormonde to Archbishop of Dublin, 6th August 1670.

they were suffering, remained passive, raising not the slightest protest on their behalf.

Happily for Walsh himself, he had not awaited Berkeley's coming to withdraw from a land where his enemies were supreme. On Ormonde's dismissal he went to England—a prudent move, since it was said that Robartes had threatened to hang him. And in England he remained for the rest of his life, supported by an annual pension of £300 from Ormonde and the seneschalship of Winchester, valued at another £100 a year, which, with Bishop Morley's assistance, the Duke settled on the learned Franciscan.<sup>1</sup> Owing to his Romanist proclivities, Berkeley was perhaps more accessible to the influence of his Catholic surroundings than the ordinary English Governor. His conduct, however, was due less to affection for the Talbots—with whom, indeed, he had some stormy passages—than to the fear of incensing Buckingham by opposition to his policy. The Viceroy was aware of the Duke's amiable intentions regarding himself and his office, and had no wish to precipitate his fate. Thus, although it was clearly to the interest of the Government to protect the loyalists of a community, in which—not unnaturally—they had few supporters, Berkeley refused to grant even an audience to the Remonstrants. When the Anglican Primate pleaded their cause at the Council Board, he was snubbed; and the eviction of friars from their convents, and priests from their cures continued apace, until, in despair, the Remonstrants bethought themselves of invoking Ormonde's aid.<sup>2</sup>

To this appeal the Duke at once responded. He made a "collection of the exorbitances" of Peter Talbot, submitting them to the King. Nor was Charles supine on this occasion. His past memories of the Nuncioist faction were not fitted to inspire him with a lively sympathy for their latter day representatives. He was consequently unusually emphatic in recommending the Remonstrants to the Viceroy's protection. But neither

<sup>1</sup> D. N. B., article on Peter Walsh.

<sup>2</sup> See *Carte MSS.*, vol. lxx. pp. 632-4. Petition of Peter Walsh, Anthony Geron, Francis Coppinger and J. Reynolds, etc.

the Sovereign's letters nor Ormonde's attempts to bring pressure to bear on Berkeley through the Protestant Primate and the Irish Lord-Chancellor, were of any avail. In fact, the only result was to aggrieve mortally the Lord-Lieutenant, who, in bitter resentment of the Duke's implied censure, vowed that he would take no notice of the orders from England, since they were "only procured by the Duke of Ormonde."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, prompted by Talbot, he was not ashamed of trying to shift the blame in the recent proceedings on the poor victims, declaring that they had suffered only on account of their scandalous lives. In the mouth of a brother of rakehelly Friar Tom Talbot, such an excuse showed no little assurance. It deserved Ormonde's description of a "subterfuge too gross to pass upon the State."<sup>2</sup>

Unhappily, scorn and entreaty were as impotent as the careful exposition of the case, which, on hearing that Berkeley complained of his "meddling," Ormonde felt it incumbent on him to draw up for the Viceroy's enlightenment. In this weighty paper the Duke reminded Berkeley that some of these very remonstrators had stood shoulder to shoulder with him in resisting "the rebellious violence of the Nuncio, when the King's authority"—then entrusted to the writer—"was invaded and at length expelled the Kingdom." They had, further, paid heavily for this same loyalty when Cromwell's conquest of Ireland had forced them to seek a refuge abroad. Then had come the Restoration, and they had been specially recommended to his "care and encouragement" by a grateful Sovereign.

"And now," said Ormonde, "I leave it to Your Lordship to judge, whether, in duty to the King, with safety to my reputation, or in honesty to them, I can receive so many complaints of oppression from them as I do, and not endeavour, that at least they may quietly enjoy their share of that indulgence which His Majesty vouchsafes to their profession, free from those disturbances, which are given them upon that account by those who abetted the contrary proceedings."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 437.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 438. Ormonde to Berkeley.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 436.

Nothing could be more temperately worded than this appeal, but it was thrown away on a man rendered deaf, alike by conceit and interest, to arguments founded on the ethics of the higher statesmanship. Ormonde was therefore forced to look on, powerless to help, while his administrative labours were undone, and loyalists, who, confiding in his own and the royal protection, had risked their all, were being steadily ground to powder. When he again recovered the power to assist the Remonstrants, they were beyond his help. Talbot's task was then completed. The Ultramontane priest, immersed in political intrigues, had once more become a force in the land.

It was only too sure a sign of the times that Berkeley could slight orders emanating from the King in Council, on the pretext that they owed their inspiration to Ormonde, for at this period the veriest neophyte was aware that the Duke of Ormonde's fortunes and credit were at a low ebb. The King affected to ignore him, the courtiers improved on the King's attitude, and his enemies grew bold in the conviction that he was at last delivered into their hands. Yet it must be admitted that if Colonel Blood's plot to murder Ormonde was the most dangerous, it was not the first attempt of that nature. Several years earlier, Dick Talbot had announced his intention of assassinating the Duke.<sup>1</sup> In the presence of two or three "persons of honour," Talbot had sworn that he would kill Ormonde in revenge for injuries that he pretended the Lord-Lieutenant had done himself and his family; and, certainly, Talbot had good cause to consider himself personally aggrieved by a clause for annulling all decrees obtained by perjury, which Ormonde was desirous to insert in the Explanatory Act. Such legislation would have been so fatal to Talbot's systems that he could not suffer it calmly, although he was gentleman enough to express a preference for the duello, as a means of settling differences. But, knowing that although the Duke would gladly have accepted his challenge, a regular meeting was out of the question, he

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Clarendon," vol. ii. p. 307.

had decided to "take his revenge in any way that should offer it."<sup>1</sup>

As Dick Talbot's daring was usually tempered by a keen regard to his own advantage, and Ormonde was not then a person to be attacked with impunity, such a declaration might be thought to savour of braggadocio. Nevertheless, when his threats were reported to the King and the Duke of York they were both thoroughly scared, believing "that the man had courage and wickedness to attempt anything," and went to consult the Chancellor.<sup>2</sup> The news had reached Charles on fairly reliable authority, for it was Sir Robert Talbot, Dick's eldest brother, and the least disreputable of the tribe, who had come to warn Clancarty of Talbot's murderous intentions. Not only Lord Clancarty, who was devoted to his brother-in-law, but Sir Robert, also, was anxious that the Duke should take precautions against the impending peril, but precautions Ormonde would not take. "He thought it below him," and lest grievous mischief should ensue, the royal brethren were, consequently, forced to devise some means for safeguarding Ormonde.

The simplest method was adopted, and Talbot was committed to the Tower, though he did not languish there much longer than on the last occasion when he had insulted Ormonde.<sup>3</sup> Lord Berkeley pleaded his cause with the Duke of York, telling the latter "that he suffered much in the opinion of the world, in permitting a servant of so near a relation to his person to be committed to prison for a few hasty and ill-advised words to which he had been provoked." No Stuart had any sense of proportion, least of all His Royal Highness of York. The criticism rankled, and instead of making an example of the swashbuckler, James relented, and became the prisoner's advocate with the King. It was not a difficult task. Talbot had never been so useful a minister to the King's pleasures as to those of James of York, but although Charles denounced

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Clarendon," vol. ii. p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 3

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 313.

the Talbots as "naughty fellows," he, also, had already "grown weary of severity." After consultation together, therefore, the two princes decided that they would beg Talbot's pardon of the man he had offended. If the Duke acceded to their request, Talbot could then be set free without any violation of the decencies. The beauty of this plan was that Ormonde's reply was a foregone conclusion.<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Ormonde "dissained to make himself a prosecutor in such a transgression," and Talbot returned in triumph to Whitehall.

During the years that had elapsed since the "Fanatics' Plot" in 1663, Blood's life had not lacked stirring episodes. Nor had he confined his energies to inditing inflammatory pamphlets under the pseudonym of Mene Tekel. In 1664 he participated in the abortive rising of Framley Wood, but although the gaol and the gibbet claimed many of the conspirators, the chains that were to bind Thomas Blood were yet unforged. In fact, he and a few bold spirits were almost immediately employed in weaving a fresh plot, which was as quickly betrayed to the Ministry. It was ill playing fast and loose, however, with Colonel Blood. Having got word of their intended treachery, he summoned the two false brethren to a tavern in the city, where thirty stout fellows, known as his guard, were stationed. Unconscious of their detection, the traitors walked straight into the trap. They were instantly secured, bound, and carried off to a safe retreat. Here, with all the forms of a regular court martial, they were sentenced to be shot, and two days later they were brought out to meet their doom. Every preparation for the execution was completed before Blood unexpectedly relented and pardoned them, bidding them recount their late experiences to their new master, and request him, in return, to be equally merciful to any of the confederates, who might stand in need of forgiveness. True to his character of a stormy petrel, Blood's next appearance was in the Highlands of Scotland, which were then seething with discontent. To stir up strife amongst the Western

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Clarendon," vol. ii. p. 314.

Covenanters was a work of supererogation, but one eminently congenial to Blood. He was present at the Battle of Pentland Hills on November the 27th, 1666, and, when the insurgents were routed, he contrived, after his usual fashion, to make good his escape. Some of his friends were less fortunate. In particular, a certain Captain Mason, regarded as a very dangerous man by the Administration, was arrested and sent under a guard of eight troopers to the assizes at Doncaster. If he had reached the dock Mason would only have left it for the scaffold, and, at all hazards, therefore, Blood determined to effect his deliverance.<sup>1</sup> He enlisted three accomplices, who, riding without top-boots and with their pistols stowed away in their trouser pockets, passed muster as peaceful wayfarers. For a time they vainly dogged the convoy. No opportunity offered, till, finally, in a village close to Doncaster, the prisoner and his party rode up to the doors of the inn, where the would-be rescuers were supping. Mason stood a dozen bottles of drink to his guardians, and a halt ensued. Blood had no leisure for elaborate plans. He merely told his followers to do as he did. Two of the troopers had lingered behind the main body, the better to enjoy their wine. Before they dreamt of danger they were dismounted, and their horses driven away beyond recall, while their assailants had already vanished in pursuit of the advance guard, who—reinforced by a barber from York—were overtaken in a neighbouring village. The inhabitants were too terrified to take part in the combat. Not so the barber, who laid about him with more zeal than discretion, paying forfeit with his life for his valour. Blood, who had not even paused to regirth his steed, was thrice unhorsed, and four times shot. With a pistol, however, in one hand and a sword in the other, he fought on until the day was won, granting, at Mason's intercession, his life to the last trooper, who, happily for him, had shown kindness to the prisoner.

Perhaps, it was not the least of Blood's feats that after

<sup>1</sup> "Remarks on the Life of Mr Blood," article in *Biog. Brit.*, vol. i., p. 364, London ed., 1680.

a set battle waged in a populous district, he and his band should have escaped without pursuit or molestation. In Blood's own case, it was the more remarkable, since, badly wounded as he was, he yet succeeded in getting safely across England to Romford in Essex, where his wife and son were established in a small chemist's shop. Apparently, no one divined any connection between Mr Apothecary Ayliffe and the redoubtable "Mene Tekel" Blood, for whose apprehension £500 was offered. And in this secure retreat he remained hidden, until he and his secret patron believed that the hour for Ormonde's removal had struck.<sup>1</sup>

On the 6th of December 1670, the young Prince of Orange, then on a visit to London, went to dine with the Lord Mayor in the City. He carried "several persons of great quality" in his train, amongst others the Duke of Ormonde. The feast and its accompanying ceremonial lasted long, and by the time William had been banqueted in the Draper's Hall, had received the Lord Mayor's compliment, and reviewed the Citizen Battalions, the early winter night had set in. It was between six and seven o'clock that Ormonde's coach began to climb St James' Street on the return journey to Clarendon House, where the Duke was lodging. The banished Chancellor's mansion stood, roughly speaking, on the space now covered by Albemarle and Dover Streets, the absent Viceroy's palace, Berkeley House, on the site of the present Devonshire House. Thus the locality was no desert. Yet the road between the old lazaretto, St James's Palace, and Clarendon House, being steep, ill-paved, and unlit, was a distinctly favourable spot for an ambush.

For so tremendous an adventure, Blood had, doubtless, carefully picked his assistants. The four men who lay in waiting with him in St James' Street must have been desperadoes of the first water. There was, however, nothing of the ruffling blade to be descried in their outward appearance. In their sad-coloured clothes, "snuff coats, and worsted Camlet Cloaks," the casual observer

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, No. 528, 6th December 1670.

might perhaps have mistaken the gang for a pacific little group of Quakers. Their looks were not more seductive than their garments.<sup>1</sup> The "plump, demure countenance" of the tobacco cutter, Richard Hollowell, alias Holloway, was sadly marred by smallpox. Thomas Hunt, Blood's son-in-law, though tall and well-proportioned, of a "ruddy complexion," and indulging in the vanity of a "Flaxen Periwig of a large Curl," had one leg "a little crook'd or bow'd"; while it must be admitted that if the description given of him in the *London Gazette* is accurate, Blood's physiognomy was no bad index to his character. He stands therein revealed as the land pirate, the born adventurer of the type sinister, "a wandering star to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever."

"Thomas Allen, alias Allyt, alias Aycliffe," ran the proclamation, "who pretended himself a Chyrugion, or Doctor of Physic, sometimes living at Romford in Essex, but lately lodging at or near Aldgate—a man of a down look, leanfaced and full of pockholes, with a snuff coat, usually wearing a worsted Camlet Cloak, and a brown short periwig, inclining to Red, about 36 years of age."

Such were the quintette, who, on that murky night, stood awaiting Ormonde. Active, well-seasoned companions all, the youngest thirty-three years old, while, one at least, Thomas Hunt, had already served his apprenticeship in the art of the highway.

Naturally, Ormonde did not travel unaccompanied, especially on state occasions, from Ludgate to Piccadilly, but out of regard to the sinews of his horses and the springs of his chariot, he had erected a sort of *cheval de frise* at the back of his coach. His servants, therefore, being debarred from hanging on to the carriage straps, were supposed to escort their master on foot. On the night of the 6th, however, they had either accidentally lingered in the rear, or had been lured away from their duty. Thus, at the critical moment, when Blood and his

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, No. 529, 7th December, 12th December, Proclamation for Discovery of the Malefactors concerned in the kidnapping of the Duke of Ormonde.

gang swooped down on their quarry, Ormonde found himself abandoned to his own resources. At the first onset, it is not wonderful that these should have proved inadequate for his defence. It was the work of a few seconds for the band to drag the Duke from his coach, secure, and fling him on horseback behind Hunt, and if they had chosen then and there to despatch him, Ormonde's fate must have been sealed beyond remission. But commonplace murder would not have contented the whimsical being generally credited with the planning of the scheme. Buckingham would probably not have considered it ungentlemanlike to slit a rival's throat, by deputy, at a dark corner, but he would have thought it deplorably dull. Whereas, to seize an opponent in the heart of the capital, and in the plenitude of his security, to whirl him to Tyburn, and there, on the gallows, to terminate the impeccable career of the Cavalier *sans peur et sans reproche*, was a method of settling accounts, presenting that nice composition of drama and irony dear to the perverted ingenuity of George Villiers. And in Blood, Buckingham may well have thought he had found the very instrument for his purpose. Hitherto, the hatchet-faced adventurer's career had justified the French saying, which bids man dare, and again and ever dare. Yet it was this very quality, which had ensured his supremacy, that now proved Blood's undoing. In the intoxication of success he committed two great errors. He would not deny himself the gratification of preparing with his own hands the noose for Ormonde's hanging. Therefore, he galloped on in advance, leaving his victim to the guardianship of Hunt and the other confederates, and he entirely forgot the ducal coachman, who promptly whipped up his horses and drove to Clarendon House. Here, as luck would have it, the porter and Mr James Clarke, Ormonde's faithful comptroller, were standing in the courtyard. Quick to realise their master's peril, they only paused to shout for their fellow-servants to follow them, before they tore down Piccadilly in pursuit of the Duke.

Meanwhile, James Butler was proving no submissive prisoner. Something of the "clever strength" which had made Lord Ormonde the envy of his youthful contemporaries, still remained to the sexagenarian Duke. His gallant spirit forbade surrender, and he fought and struggled with an energy that delayed the horsemen's progress to the fatal goal. Hunt was an exceptionally powerful man, but he was hampered by holding sword and bridle with one hand, and pistol with the other. Also, being hindmost in the procession, his allies could afford him little assistance. It was therefore a duel between himself and the Duke. And, at last, wresting his pistol from him and at the same time getting his foot under Hunt's, Ormonde managed fairly to jerk him out of the saddle, captor and captive rolling over and over together in the mire. On the ground the struggle continued, but the Duke, being uppermost, contrived both to snatch away Hunt's sword, and, in his own words, to get "loose" from him. Torches and voices were now approaching. The villains grew alarmed for their own safety, and after firing a volley, rendered ineffectual by the darkness, at the prostrate Duke, they rode away. Indeed, so hurried was their flight that Hunt's "silvermounted, screw" pistol, and bay horse, "with a white stripe and Blaze all along its face," remained as trophies, and were on view at Clarendon House for some time subsequently.

If the confederates had failed in their deadly project, they had, however, left Ormonde bruised, wounded with "a knock over his pole (*sic*)," and a cut on his hand, and absolutely exhausted.<sup>1</sup> When his attendants arrived on the spot where he lay, they recognised him "rather by feeling his star, than by any words he could utter."<sup>2</sup> They lifted him up and bore him away to Clarendon House, where according to the gazette, he remained for a time "languishing of his wounds." So impudent

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS., "Report," vol. vii. app. 489a; Verney MSS., W. Denton to Sir R. Verney; Carte, vol. iv. p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 443.

an outrage could not fail to arouse much excitement and yet more indignation ; and it was not long before the attempt was connected with Buckingham. Meanwhile, the most sensational tales ran riot—the popular version crediting Blood with the intention of selling Ormonde into slavery with the Moors. For very shame's sake, the Government offered £1,000 reward for the apprehension of the malefactors, and £100 to any one identifying the owner of the "screwed pistol," and the white-nosed horse. The names of Blood and his associates soon became known. The route taken by the fugitives also quickly transpired. It appeared that they had ridden straight to Knightsbridge, and then doubled back on Tuttle Fields or Tothill Fields, close to our modern James Street, Westminster, now a centre of activities, but then obviously an isolated region, since pesthouses had only recently been erected there during the Plague.<sup>1</sup> Here, unobserved they crossed the Thames, thence reaching Southwark by way of Lambeth. So far they were not difficult to track, especially as four of the party—Templar wise—shared two horses. But Blood was a pastmaster in conducting a retreat, and after Southwark all vestige of the "bold associates" was lost. Indeed, it was not until Blood deliberately put his head into the lion's mouth that the outrage on Ormonde was brought home to him.

It was on the 9th of May 1671 that Blood made his celebrated attempt to steal the regalia from the Tower. On this occasion he was assisted by two members of the former gang, Tom Hunt and the tobacco-cutter Holloway, and one fresh recruit, Parrot, an ex-Cromwellian lieutenant, turned silk-dyer.<sup>2</sup> As Blood proudly said "it was a bold attempt, but it was for a crown," and, indeed, the astonishing feature of this episode was not its ultimate failure, but that it was within an ace of succeeding. The three robbers were all captured, and since a starving man could then be hanged for the theft of a loaf, Blood's fate must have

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, No. 529, 12th December 1670.

<sup>2</sup> D. N. B., article on Thomas Blood.

appeared sealed. The most amazing adventure of his whole career was, however, yet to come.

Prompted, doubtless, by Buckingham, his acknowledged protector, Blood refused to confess save to the King; and Charles, who possessed all his grandfather, Henri IV.'s curiosity, without a Sully to keep it under control, yielded to the desire of conducting the examination of the most notorious bandit of the age. He might as well have signed Blood's release without more ado. For, as Ormonde remarked on hearing of the audience: "then the man need not despair, for surely no king should wish to see a malefactor, but with intention to pardon him." Ormonde was justified of his prophecy. Staking his salvation upon the Sovereign's morbid sensationalism, Blood acted up to his reputation of audacity. He readily admitted that in revenge for the forfeiture of his estate and the execution of his friends, he had planned and led the attempt on Ormonde; and he further volunteered the statement that he, Thomas Blood, had meditated a greater crime—the assassination of the Monarch himself.

Charles's love of swimming in the Thames at Battersea furnished the desired opportunity, and Blood vowed that sheltered behind the reeds fringing the riverside, he had actually held the Sovereign's life at the end of his carbine. It was only when Charles was to all intents and purposes in his power that the majesty that hedges a king—apparently even in the least regal moments—caused him to relinquish his design. Moreover, not only did he forbear, but he persuaded his fellow religionists to renounce the schemes they also had formed against the Sovereign. It now rested with that Monarch, he continued, to determine whether, by granting a free pardon to himself and his accomplices, Charles should convert them into devoted servants of the Crown; or, whether, by allowing the law to take its course, the King should expose his life to the vengeance of the remaining members of the fraternity.

It was probably the "secret reasons and powerful intercessions" employed on Blood's behalf, rather than the astute ruffian's "bravadoes and menacing insinuations,"

that finally earned his grace.<sup>1</sup> If, in truth, Barbara Cleveland had shared Buckingham's plot against Ormonde, she had certainly cause to shield their common tool. Nor could Charles have escaped unpleasant criticism if Blood had turned King's evidence, and denounced both the Monarch's lady love and his Prime Minister. Nevertheless, a show of decorum had to be observed. Blood was informed that his fate depended on Ormonde's verdict, and accordingly wrote to solicit the latter's pardon.

"MY LORD," he said, "The greatnesse of my Crimes soe exceeds expression that weare not my burdened soule incurred by findin vent to its grieve, though by such an acknowledgement as beares little proportion to my guilt, I had forborne this further trouble to Your Grace, but overcharg'd with increasing sorrow by the consideration of said renowned excellency which, I, unworthy monster, was soe regardles off, hath produced this erruption of the humble acknowledgement of my most hainous Crime, for which as I have a deepe impression of hart Compunction, soe should I count it my happiness to have an opportunity in the most demonstrative waye to manifest it Your Grace, who am unworthy to be accounted, though, in reality, I am Your Grace most humble Sarvant,

"THOMAS BLOOD."<sup>2</sup>

Blood's eloquence was not left unsupported. Arlington was charged by the King to explain to Ormonde that, for certain reasons he would communicate to the Duke, he wished Blood to be excused the gallows.

"If the King could forgive Blood the stealing of his crown," Ormonde characteristically replied, "he might easily forgive him the attempt on his life; and since it was His Majesty's pleasure, that was a reason sufficient for him and his Lordship might therefore spare the rest."<sup>3</sup>

It was not merely a pardon that Blood obtained. He was given an estate worth £500 per annum and was

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., Blood to Ormonde.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 446.

admitted into all "the privacy and intimacy" of the Court. John Evelyn's feelings were about equally compounded of excitement and horror at meeting the notorious Colonel at the Lord-Treasurer's dinner-table; while the inmates of Whitehall, a less fastidious race than the respectable diarist, soon discovered and unblushingly utilised Blood's mysterious influence in high places.

"If any one had a business at Court that stuck, he made his application to Blood as the most industrious and successful solicitor; and many gentlemen courted his acquaintance as the Indians pray to the devil, that he may not hurt them."<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps, at this stage, the only crumpled roseleaf in the bandit's lot was Ormonde's attitude. Although Blood "affected particularly" to frequent those rooms in the palace where Ormonde was to be found, he was quietly, but persistently, "neglected and overlooked by His Grace."

Even at the second Charles's Court, however, men of Blood's stamp could scarcely expect long enduring prosperity. For a time the Colonel was daily to be seen dining with his old associates at White's Coffee House near the Royal Exchange, but after the fall of the Cabal Ministry came an eclipse. Blood quarrelled with Buckingham, brought certain loathsome accusations against his noble patron, and was cast in £10,000 damages in a suit of *scandalum magnatum*. He was lucky to obtain bail; and he then retired to his house in the Bowling Alley, Westminster, where on August the 24th, 1680, he died. Two days later, he was buried in the New Chapel at Tothill. So strong, however, was the popular feeling that Thomas Blood was not born to die in his bed, that the Coroner was compelled to order an inquest. The body was accordingly disinterred. Yet, even then, the Jury would have refused to credit the evidence of their eyes, if some one had not opportunely remembered that, owing to an accident to his hand, Blood's thumb was twice the normal size. On the corpse, the deformity was plainly

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 447.

visible; and thus Thomas Blood's contemporaries were finally convinced that one of the wildest spirits of that restless age had, in truth, received its quietus.

Before Blood's baleful presence ceased to trouble his fellow citizens' imaginations, nine years had, however, still to run. And, meanwhile, although Ormonde disdained to acknowledge the Colonel's existence, the Duke's relatives were alarmed by the barefaced encouragement accorded to his would-be assassin. Nor were they reassured by Buckingham's next performance. George Villiers gave out that he had proofs that Clarendon and Ormonde were plotting his death. They had harboured two men, so his story ran, to kill him, the criminals having confessed to the conspiracy before they themselves were got rid of by poison.

That statesmen of Clarendon and Ormonde's high integrity should stoop to such methods was clearly incredible, and the tale merely excited derision. But that Buckingham should trouble to invent so farcical a calumny was its most dangerous feature in Ossory's eyes. He divined that Buckingham meant to make his fears the excuse for forestalling the supposititious design. In fact, to use a modern phrase, Ossory regarded Buckingham's latest fabrication as a *ballon d'essai*; and, straightforward proceedings being as natural to Thomas Butler as underground machinations to George Villiers, the sailor earl took instant and characteristic action. Coming one day into the royal presence, and finding the Duke of Buckingham standing by the King's side, Ossory's "colour rose," and without further circumlocution, he told Buckingham :

"My Lord, I know well that you are at the bottom of this late attempt upon my father; and therefore I give you fair warning. If my father comes to a violent end by sword or pistol, if he dies by the hand of a ruffian or by the more secret way of poison, I shall not be at a loss to know the first author of it; I shall consider you as the assassin; I shall treat you as such, and wherever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the King's

chair ; and I tell it you in His Majesty's presence that you may be sure I shall keep my word." <sup>1</sup>

George Villiers was justly noted for the felicity of his repartees, but on this occasion Ossory's onslaught seems to have left His Grace speechless. And, henceforth, though Ormonde declined to take any additional precaution on his own behalf, his footmen, as before, walking at a considerable distance from the coach, which still retained its barricade of spikes, no more was heard of any further attempts on the Duke's life.

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 449.

## CHAPTER VI

### ORMONDE'S OSTRACISM

THE years 1670-2 may be regarded as registering the high-water mark of prosperity for Roman Catholicism during Charles II.'s reign in Great Britain. The Treaty of Dover in 1670, the Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 were no mean triumphs for the Romanist influences permeating high quarters. The hour was evidently propitious to the revision of Irish Catholic claims; and, accordingly, the year 1671 was inaugurated by the determined effort of that party to call the whole Land Settlement into question. The prime mover of the agitation was Dick Talbot. Purely philanthropic his motives were not, for he stood to gain a heavy bonus on every claimant who, having intrusted him with the management of his business, succeeded in obtaining the restitution of his patrimony. It was remarked that where an Irishman had a good case, Talbot did not greatly bestir himself on his behalf. The Court of Claims was not absolutely devoid of a conscience, and the percentage on such cases was less remunerative.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, if energetic swearing, or rather forswearing, was needed, Dick Talbot did his part manfully. Indeed, when in 1674 it was proposed to insert a clause in an Explanatory Bill annulling all decrees obtained by perjury, Talbot, conceiving himself and his methods to be directly incriminated, with a lamentable lack of humour, openly vowed to take vengeance on the Duke; from which episode the moral may be deduced that wrongs, many and grievous, must have been committed

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 450-1.

during the Land Settlement, if they could outweigh the shortcomings of such an advocate.

By the beginning of January, Talbot's arrangements were complete, and on the 18th of that month he presented a petition subscribed by forty or fifty leading Irish gentlemen to the King in Council. This document set forth the sad case of the petitioners ruined by their devotion to His Majesty, whom they had faithfully served both at home and abroad. Hitherto, contrary to the Sovereign's manifest intentions, they had not been restored to their estates. They prayed, therefore, that some impartial, disinterested persons might be empowered to examine their grievances; and that, in the interim, Charles would stop all grants of lands, which still remained at his disposition. "So compassionate an application" could receive but one answer. A committee, drawn from the Privy Council, comprising Ormonde and Buckingham, Arlington and Ashley, was appointed to consider the petition. Three days later the committee met. Ormonde had hitherto not opposed a request which seemed merely designed to repair certain individual injustices, though when Talbot explained that the sole remedy for the wrongs of his clients lay in a sweeping amendment of the recent Land Acts, the Duke took alarm. Errors he freely acknowledged in a work "attended with such intricate perplexities, that unless men had the wisdom of angels" they could not have been avoided,<sup>1</sup> but he was convinced that to uproot a settlement, achieved with infinite difficulty, might merely result in a fresh crop of injustices, and must effectually destroy the sense of confidence and stability, a plant of slow growth, particularly in Ireland, yet without which no national prosperity could be compassed. For these reasons he would have closed the debate; the majority of the committee, however, were against him, and Talbot was ordered to produce his counsel and his brief.

On January the 21st the sitting was resumed, but when Talbot's statement came to be read, Ormonde

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 454.

could not let its assertions pass unchallenged. Like the Bourbons, the Irish Catholics were sadly indocile to the lessons of experience. Bitterly as they had suffered for their overweening self-righteousness at the Restoration, they were now guilty of precisely the same error. Their merits and services they pompously enumerated, but all mention of a rebellion in which they might have participated was carefully eschewed; while Ormonde was described as driven from the Kingdom by the sole power of the "Usurper's" forces. To put forward so garbled a version of history in the presence of the chief actor was distinctly imprudent. "His Grace, to do justice to the truth," could not permit such misrepresentations to pass into currency. His recollection of past events, which included the violation of the articles of Peace, the excommunications launched against himself and other loyalists, his own expulsion from Ireland, and the repudiation of the royal authority by the dominant Ultramontane party, scarcely tallied with Talbot's account of the same circumstances. It was impossible that the Duke's attestations should not qualify the glories of Colonel Dick's periods. Arlington was straightway converted to Ormonde's point of view. The rest of the audience was less affected, yet sufficiently to refer the petition to Sir Heneage Finch, the actual Attorney-General, who, as Solicitor-General, had been intimately concerned with the evolution of the Land Acts.<sup>1</sup> The Irish demands can be roughly summarised under four heads. The first aimed, "principally," at the change of both Acts of Settlement, since most of the objections formulated went "to the foundation." Failing this somewhat drastic amendment the Irish supplicated for the repeal of those clauses conferring particular grants on particular persons, the bestowal on the petitioners of all "undisposed lands," and, finally, an act of indemnity.

We possess the Attorney-General's reasoned reply to these demands. It is clear that he would have conceded the ultimate, and even the penultimate Article,

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. pp. 105-25. Report of Sir H. Finch, touching Act of Explanation made in Council, February 1670.

few statesmen, by that time, being antagonistic to the grant of an Act of Indemnity to Ireland. With regard to the "undisposed lands," Finch somewhat cynically concluded that all profitable lands having long since been bestowed, the gift would be so "inconsiderable" that if the King chose to exert his prerogative on their behalf, "no one would any way repine at it."<sup>1</sup>

But if Finch did not show himself implacable on these minor points, to the first two proposals he maintained a determined resistance, and his speech certainly deserves attention, though, perhaps, it is valuable rather for the incidental light it throws on the working of the settlement, than for any great weight of arguments. These may, indeed, seem less conclusive to the present generation than to the historian of that period. Finch entrenched himself behind the facts that Charles II. was responsible for the selection of "nominees," and that most of the grants were made to Irish Roman Catholics. The first assertion was incontestable. The peculiar vice of Stuart rule, favouritism, was only too apparent in many of the donations. It largely explains, but scarcely excuses, the ensuing miscarriages of justice. Nor, if any restitution was to take place, could the majority of nominees have been other than Catholics; for, amongst the original owners of the soil, Ormonde was almost the only very great Protestant landowner.

"The truth is," as that sober-minded statesman Essex wrote some three years later, "the lands of Ireland have bin a meer scramble, and the least done by way of orderly distribution as perhaps hath ever been known, which makes all men soe unsettled in their Estates and soe unquiet in their possessions."<sup>2</sup>

This dismal verity no fine drawn reasoning, no ingenious quibblings on the Attorney's part, could controvert, but thence to argue that all recent legislation must be repealed,

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> Essex Papers, vol. i. p. 201. Essex to W. Harbord, Dublin, March the 20th 1674.

and that Ireland must once more be thrown into the melting pot was a less evident proposition. Finch was not far astray, when he asked the Roman Catholics whether, in their clamour against grants, they were not destroying "their own party, only that they might be revenged upon a few Protestants?" Moreover, the revoking of these grants could only be compassed by an Act of Parliament, "which if once begun, who knows where it will stop?" Indeed, it was this query, big with menace as every responsible statesman recognised, that underlay all the *non-possumus* replies of the Administration. Only madmen or autocrats, conscious of wielding irresistible force, can despise opportunity. The year 1671 was a year of grace for Irish Catholics, but it was impossible to hope that even in 1671 the Protestant Parliament of England would displant and ruin the Irish Protestants merely to oblige the Irish Roman Catholics. And to any such proposals the Parliament of Dublin would have been, as then constituted, no less hostile than the Parliament of Westminster.

There was little new in Talbot's presentation of the case against the Land Acts. First and foremost in the catalogue of grievances, for which he demanded redress, figured the clause branding as "nocents" all landowners who had enjoyed their estates within the rebel quarters. This clause, unjust in itself as all rough and ready methods of settling complicated questions are, and mischievous in its consequences, has already been discussed. But a new aspect is given to the subject by the Attorney-General's deliberate statement that, as a matter of fact, "this rule was so moderated in the execution of the Act that there is hardly an example to be observed in all Ireland, where the Commissioners condemned any man by that rule alone." As Finch would hardly have made so remarkable an assertion, had it been totally unfounded, one would fain hope that it shows the spirit of Anglo - Saxon administration to have been better than the letter of its laws. Undoubtedly, something of the kind had happened, as Mr Prendergast, himself, admits, in the

case of "nominees" for whose estates, reprisals to the sitting tenants not being forthcoming, accommodation was found in the shape of "custodium."<sup>1</sup>

It is true that, at the outset, a "custodium," must have seemed a precarious possession, since, even from that niche of refuge, the nominee might be ousted by a "deficient" soldier or adventurer. But the nominee who contrived to hold on until the Court of Claims closed its sittings in 1669, was then delivered from fear of disturbance, and became the virtual owner of the "custodium."<sup>2</sup> And thus, though tardily, some measure of compensation was eventually engineered for a certain number of this much-harassed class. It is to be feared, however, that Finch's comfortable statistics, with regard to the hearing of appeals, are susceptible of another explanation. Indeed, he, himself, furnishes us with this alternative solution. After describing the completion of the bargain effected by the Explanatory Act, whereby each side, in order to enjoy the remaining two-thirds agreed to relinquish one-third of their holdings,

"now," he says, "both Irish and English were concerned that there should be no more innocents. The Irish first, because the principal men amongst them, the nominees, could not hope to escape as innocents. And therefore they never attempted during the execution of the former act to bring on their claims as innocents but rested under a provision made for them after reprisals."

In the light of these same remarks, Finch's reply to Talbot's complaint that sufficient time was not allotted to the hearing of claimants, becomes also—alas—less satisfactory.<sup>3</sup> Finch asserted "that no man can justly complain of not being heard"; and that, further, there

<sup>1</sup> Carte, "Report," p. 88. "Custodium," i.e., lands unassigned, therefore temporarily vacant, and in the power of the Crown to grant, until further order, at a low rent. The bulk of "Custodiums" was found in Connaught, where the transplanted settlers, on restoration to their old dominions, abandoned their holdings. The "retrenched one third" from the allotments of soldiers and adventurers also furnished a considerable number of "Custodiums."

<sup>2</sup> Carte, "Report," pp. 86-7.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 113.

were actually occasions when the Commissioners wanted causes and could not prevail with men to bring on their claims. Yet the speaker had, himself, demonstrated that it was not the want of claimants or claims that produced slackness in the Commissioner's business. Rather it was that Irishmen could not bring themselves to stake their entire fortunes on conditions so manifestly unpromising.

When all this, however, is said, it must be admitted that Finch, at least, proved both the necessity for an Explanatory Act and that it was the outcome of an understanding between the different parties to the quarrel. Undoubtedly, it was to the manifest advantage of the English settlers to "enjoy their two-thirds, undischarged of all the clamour from the Irish,"<sup>1</sup> while the Irish were also beneficiaries by the Explanatory Act, for it disposed of their opponents' contention that decrees of innocence given outside the specified time limit were invalid.<sup>2</sup> Further, if as the petitioners now complained, the Explanatory Act had ended "all future adjudications of innocence and benefit of articles," those adjudications had evidently been favourable mainly, if not wholly, to the "obscure" freeholders, who, for want of proof against them, had escaped the penalties of high treason. They had done little for the larger proprietors, who, as we have seen, dared not run the gauntlet of judicial investigation.

Again, when Talbot spoke of the Explanatory Bill as the cause of the adventurers and soldiers being in Ireland at all, he was palpably in error.<sup>3</sup> "The Settlement of adventurers and soldiers," Finch could truthfully reply, "is not the effect of the Explanatory Bill, but was the whole scope of the former Act of Settlement and the very first Declaration itself"—that Declaration being the outcome of Charles's promises at Breda. Moreover, mark well, "the Explanatory Act doth not enlarge but retrench this settlement a third part. And whereas by the Declaration their reprisals were to be of equal value, worth and purchase, now, by the Explanatory Act, they (the English) are reduced to acre for acre." The real proof,

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. v. p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 115.

however, that the Irish did not give a bare acquiescence but actually contributed to the passing of the Explanatory Act lies in the fact that when offered the alternative of 400,000 acres in addition to the 1,250,000 restored they refused, choosing rather "to take their fortune on the retrenchment of a third."<sup>1</sup> So that, as Finch not unfairly remarks, "they seemed to be fully satisfied with the passing of the Act as the utmost that could be expected as things stood." In truth, English and Irish were equally misled as to the ruling factor of the controversy. The acreage of the Kingdom had no relation to their imagination. As Ormonde from the first had pointed out, a new Ireland would be required to satisfy all the claimants. The Attorney-General's conclusion, which we may take as approximately representing Ormonde's, may seem lamentably jejune to our generation. In only too many cases it is clear that injustice and greed had ruled the "meer scramble." But with Berkeley at the helm in Ireland, and Buckingham to set his course, the injustices of a new settlement would scarcely have been fewer than those which Ormonde had been powerless to avert. And when the tidal wave of the Popish terror rolled over England, if the Settlement had still been in the making, we may well question whether the position of Irish Catholics would have been happier. Ormonde's panacea for Ireland's woes was probably commonplace, but it was dictated by knowledge and experience. Had Ireland, as he vainly advocated, been allowed to work out her own salvation under a stable government and even-handed administration, we of the twentieth century might have less cause to rue the agrarian legislation of our forbears.

The Duke was at any rate quickly justified of one prediction. No sooner was it known that a committee, from which Ormonde himself was carefully excluded, had been appointed to peruse, revise, and report on all documents connected with the Settlement, than a veritable panic broke out in Ireland amongst the threatened classes. Petitions from the adventurers, soldiers, "forty-nine

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 117.

officers," and purchasers of domains in Connaught poured into England.<sup>1</sup> At that juncture, the "favour of the Court turning so violently on the side of their adversaries," these appeals would have obtained scant hearing but for Ormonde's championship. As a statesman, Ormonde was opposed to "unravelling" the Settlement so laboriously effected during ten weary years. As an administrator, he deprecated the discouragement of that section of the community, whose industry and energy held the best promise of the kingdom's future welfare. He had a hard fight. The Duke of York and the Catholics were ranged against him on the score of religion. For personal reasons, he was opposed by Buckingham and his motley crew. "Out of a mean compliance with the measures of a ministry, whose power they dreaded," the vast mass of waiters on fortune, the snobs, the cowards, the self-seekers, in and out of Parliament, sided with Ormonde's enemies. Although none but fanatical partisans could maintain that the hour and the human machinery, then available, were propitious to a truly impartial revision of the agrarian code, it is possible that in the light of later events some may think the Duke of Ormonde's attitude mistaken. But it is a tribute to the man's transcendent integrity and honesty of purpose that, single-handed, he was able to arrest, and even to obtain the alteration of the destructive agencies already in motion—and set in motion, we must remember, by the most corrupt crew of the time.

The Committee appointed on the 4th of February handed in a very inadequate report on June the 18th, 1671. Manner and matter were alike slovenly and confused, based entirely on the statements of Sir James Shaen, the Surveyor-General, whose reputation should scarcely have inspired such touching confidence.<sup>2</sup> Even with Sir James Shaen's assistance, however, the report left so much to

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 487. 4,758,647 acres were returned as forfeited lands. Of this gross total, adventurers and soldiers, in 1659, had divided between themselves no less than 2,563,240 acres. By subsequent legislation they had, however, been mulcted of 624,347, thus retaining possession of 1,938,893 acres. On the entire proceedings, "Innocents" had recovered 965,270 acres, and "49 officers" 118,993, while the huge booty of 110,082 had fallen to the

be desired that the Commissioners felt themselves constrained to offer an apology for its deficiencies. They ascribed these defects to the absence of documents, and begged that some responsible persons might be invested with the authority to cross-examine officials and requisition papers in Ireland. Their prayer was granted. Six weeks later, these powers were conferred on the Committee, to whom Sir George Lane, the Duke's former secretary, duly delivered and expounded all documents bearing on the subject.

In any case the work arising from so delicate and complicated an investigation must have been heavy. It was not lessened by the occult determination of the Committee to discover matter therein to dishonour Ormonde. If they could prove that the Duke had augmented his ancient estate by passing other peoples' lands as his own, they would effectually silence and checkmate the one man whose opposition they had cause to dread. That the rest of the year should have been consumed by this exciting quest is therefore not surprising, but that Talbot, an expert in the production or creation of testimony, backed, moreover, by the eager endeavours of his landless countrymen, should have been unable to discover a witness sufficiently adroit to work the trick, is really amazing. The witness, who could discredit Ormonde, must have been well aware that his fortune was made. Nor in the welter wrought for ten whole years by war, revolution and the judiciary, should occasions for miscarriage of justice have been few. Papers and parchments had shared in the general destruction. A slip on the part of Ormonde's agents, persistence in error—honest error it might well be—and the Duke's enemies could expose the great landowner as guilty of grinding the faces of the poor. It speaks volumes for Ormonde's

single share of the Duke of York. The transplanted Connaught settlers retained 398,453, the purchasers in the same province, 94,377. Popish proviso, men in actual possession, were computed as holding 344,192 acres, as against 263,883 acres belonging to Protestants in the same category; Popish nominees at another 28,644, and nominees in possession 26,377, the above figures being exclusive of the lands allotted to the Church or left over in the common stock.

representatives, or perhaps for the spirit instilled by him, that in these circumstances Buckingham and Talbot only succeeded in trumping up two witnesses against Ormonde.

The first of these ingenious gentry, Edmond Byrne, a small proprietor in Catherlogh, had a singularly short career.<sup>1</sup> Although, in 1663, he had formally acknowledged that he held his lands in tenure from the Duke, in 1671, being unable to pay his debts, it occurred to him that he might economise the quit rent due to Ormonde, by declaring that the property was his own. The Duke immediately agreed to concede the point if, on investigation, Byrne's claim proved true. It was a claim, however, that could only be made out by forgery; and although Edmond's son and representative in London, Gerald Byrne, did not hesitate to counterfeit the necessary signatures, the moment that he heard that one of the supposed signatories was coming to England, he took fright and bolted back to Ireland—the case instantly collapsing.

Talbot's second witness, James Nolan, contrived to hold the stage a little longer and to raise a greater clatter. His final eclipse was, however, no less ignominious than that of Byrne. James Nolan's past was much that which might have been expected of Talbot's chief witness. Having served in the Nuncio's forces, and been guilty of various murders, he had prudently withdrawn to Flanders during the Commonwealth. At the Restoration, he returned to his native land in the character of a loyal ensignman, and rented a small family holding of Ormonde in Shangary. A life of rural ease was not, however, long practicable to Captain James Nolan. In 1669 he again treacherously killed a man, and fled to England. After a year of obscurity, thinking, doubtless, that he could risk a return to Ireland he endeavoured to achieve this at Ormonde's expense. He addressed a petition to the Duke, declaring that the latter's agents were forcing him to pay rent on his own freehold land, not only despite all equity, but

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 461.

in the teeth of an explicit contract; and he besought Ormonde for funds to return home, his poverty being largely due, he said, to the charges he had borne in giving witness on the Duke's behalf in a suit in the Court of Claims. He did not plead in vain. Ormonde presented him with eight guineas for his travelling expenses, and wrote to Mathew bidding him enquire into the matter, see justice done, and recompense Nolan further if his story should prove accurate.<sup>1</sup> Mathew and Walsh, Ormonde's agents, men well versed in every detail concerning the Duke's estates, were, however, not people with whom Nolan desired to have any dealings. He found it more profitable to remain in London, "to clamour against the Duke of Ormonde, and finally to petition the King." The form his petition took, on this occasion, was the simple one of declaring that his heritage, being contiguous to the ducal domain, had been taxed and retained by Ormonde's agents contrary to their personal agreement — an agreement, entered into to avoid the necessity of pleading in the Court of Claims.

The Duke was present at the Council when Nolan's petition was read, and begged that he might be confronted with his accuser. On the Captain's appearance, Ormonde offered to make him forthwith a present of the land, if he could substantiate the story of a bargain with Walsh. Nolan boastfully replied that he could call forty witnesses to prove the contract. But a brief investigation revealed a very different state of affairs. Not only had Walsh let the land to Nolan merely in the ordinary way of business, but a paper subscribed by Nolan acknowledging this was still in existence. The crowning absurdity of the whole case was reached, however, when it transpired that the claimant to the tenancy of Shangary, should by rights have been not James Nolan, but Patrick Nolan, his half-brother. Thus were Byrne and Nolan exposed at their right value. Contemptible as were the men and their accusations, Ormonde was, nevertheless, determined that the King should be fully instructed concerning his conduct

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 463.

in these two cases, and in the entire policy of his estate management. It was a fortunate determination, since his simple and manly protest well deserves reading.

"Your Majesty," he wrote, "may please to be informed that no man could be a greater stranger to his own fortune and interest than myself; neither my faculties or inclinations much enabling or disposing me to that kind of work. Besides that, the breaking out of the rebellion in Ireland when I was perhaps more fit and inclined to consider my own affairs, gave me other employment, and rendered any thought of the management of my fortune (which was wholly possessed by the rebels) utterly useless. Soon after Your Majesty's happy restoration, you were pleased to command me to serve you in the government of that Kingdom; where the absence of the royal authority for so many years, the divided interests there, and other difficulties attending the settlement of that Kingdom so took up my time and thoughts that I was constrained to put the management of my private concerns into the hands of friends and servants, the most prudent and honest I could light on; *with this general instruction to let me rather lose my right in some things, than to gain anything for me wrongfully or but hardly*, from any man. This instruction (I presume) they have observed, not being able to conceive what temptation they could have had to transgress it." Having cited witnesses to the giving of these instructions, he continues, "What I have thus far troubled Your Majesty with, is to discharge myself from the suspicion of any sordid desire, or mean contrivance to gain more land than might be fairly and justly mine. Wherein I may the more easily be believed, for that, of what I might legally and fairly have kept, I have parted with the value of some thousands a year to those, who I thought in some degree worthy of relief and compassion. And if this be true, as I am able to make it appear, it will seem improbable, if not incredible, that I should enter into so low and unwarrantable contracts as those wherewith I am charged in the said petitions; especially for so wretched a proportion of land as their pretensions do amount to, not exceeding (as I am informed) £40 a year."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 467-8.

That Ormonde was honestly desirous rather to forego his rights than to gain anything "but hardly" from another was amply evidenced in his treatment of William Petty. The two had long been on amicable terms. At the Restoration, Petty boasted that Ormonde was "pleased, voluntarily, to say he had espoused me for his friend and would make me the King's servant."<sup>1</sup> During his residence in Dublin, Ormonde evidently found the Doctor no mean addition to the social resources of the place. In especial, he delighted in the exhibitions of comedy in which Petty excelled, although evokes remarked that His Grace never again asked to be counterfeited after the performance in which he saw himself through Petty's eyes—a performance which he had selected, and it must be added, had warmly applauded. Money has however, frequently been a cause of estrangement between greater friends than James Butler and William Petty. The Duke's agents laid claim to a property of Sir William's in Kerry. A lawsuit was instituted, and much trouble might have ensued if Petty—shrewd as ever—had not determined that Ormonde should be personally made acquainted with the facts of the case. Nor was his choice of a medium for communication with Ormonde Sir Robert Southwell, the Duke's intimate friend, less happy than the style of the letter to Southwell, which was certainly well conceived to appeal to Ormonde's sense of humour.

"The Duke of Ormonde is David, but I am Uriah; my estate in Kerry is Bathsheba you should be Nathan and then my estate would be the poor man's lamb. Nathan told David that he had wives and concubines etc' without taking Bathsheba from Uriah, a worthy man, who had served him in his wars and suffered as I had done the Duke and his interest before the King's restoration, and now, lately, to my great hazard. The

<sup>1</sup> Lord Finance, "Life of Sir W. Petty," pp. 104-5. See M. Fawcett, *J. Petre*, 6th August, 1660.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* pp. 138-9. Sir W. Petty to Sir R. Southwell, March, 1667.



admirable to any one who tests his facts, as the lightning speed at which he worked, was, moreover, morally convinced that the greater portion of the £7,000 a year paid away by Ormonde in annuities during his own lifetime, was spent in voluntary grants to expropriated Irish landowners.<sup>1</sup> Since this new branch of expenditure only dated from the judgments of the Court of Claims in Ormonde's favour, the theory is not unreasonable, and if correct, George Mathew's assertion that the Duke was rather a loser than a gainer by the forfeiture of the Irish scarcely savours of exaggeration, while Dryden's eulogium of Ormonde—"Large was his wealth but larger was his heart"—belongs rather to the domain of solid fact than poetic license.

At a period when Nolan and Byrne could, unpunished, or even unrebuked, concoct all manner of calumnies against Ormonde, others were not lacking to improve on their example. A certain Philip Purcel, pronounced nocent by the Court of Claims, had forfeited four-fifths of his estate of Ballifoyle to adventurers, the remaining portion, a strip of barren moorland, Kilkuleen Duff, 1,300 acres at £50 a year, being mountainous land, reverting to the Duke, his feudal overlord. History does not record Philip's attitude in affliction,<sup>2</sup> but his son, Edward, did not meekly submit to ruin. On his father's death, he promptly organised a regular campaign against the intruders. The chief offenders, Mr and Mrs Toby Cramer, must soon have had cause to rue their settlement on Purcel's inheritance. It was immaterial, apparently, to the latter whether he vented his—not unnatural—wrath on man or woman.<sup>3</sup> The first person he caught was Mrs Cramer, whom he nearly beat to death. Then came the turn of the son, Balthasar. This worthy, a magistrate, surprised alone and unarmed, proved a hardly less easy prey. Him, Purcel wounded, and would, doubtless, have killed—as he threatened—if timely rescue had not appeared. The countryside was lenient. Once already the jury had

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 474.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxx. p. 146.  
<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 475.

pronounced a similarfeat of Purcel's to be manslaughter; but three murderous assaults in succession were difficult to condone, and Purcel accordingly fled to England. Here, his violence soon became indistinguishable from homicidal madness. A petition to King and Council for restoration to his estate was followed by one to Ormonde, requiring money for the prosecution of his suit.<sup>1</sup> He was good enough to promise that if Ormonde would assist him, he would not only compound with him for the estate then in the Duke's possession, but, failing heirs of his own, would settle it in reversion on Ormonde. Answer there being none, for the moment, to this second petition, he flew off to Clarendon House, and when the porter refused him admittance to the Duchess's presence, he straightway put in practice the methods he had employed at Ballifoye. On this occasion, however, he did not come off victorious. Ormonde's porter was less easily disposed of than either Mrs Toby Cramer or the worshipful Balthasar Cramer. Moreover, Edmund Purcel was drunk, which told against him. In short, he was beaten, and, in his rage, rushed off to Court with a fresh petition, declaring to all and sundry, the King's Majesty included, his fixed resolution to kill Ormonde.

Blood, who had powerful protectors, had been pardoned. Purcel, who was friendless, soon found himself lodged in the Tower, whence, his eccentricities becoming obvious, he was transferred to Bethlehem Hospital. Mad the poor wretch undoubtedly was. Yet it shows the anxiety of Ormonde's enemies to neglect no possible source of scandal that could be utilised against him, that Purcel, although recognised as a lunatic, received the visits of three eminent members of that faction. Even their malice failed, however, to extract any serviceable material from the unhappy creature's ravings, and Purcel was consequently abandoned to the regular ministrations of Bethlehem.<sup>2</sup> Strange to say, when we reflect on the curative methods

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 475.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxx. f. 275. Report by Dr Allan, 28th November 1672, 3rd September 1673.

of that period, these proved effectual. Purcel recovered, and would probably have been released, if he could have found sureties for his future good behaviour. These not being forthcoming, he was removed to Newgate in November 1674, being accorded a weekly allowance for his support. The said allowance was due to the King's bounty, but it was certainly not opposed by his intended victim, for writing to Sir Robert Southwell, Ormonde, then in Ireland, remarks that

"it falls out something extraordinary that I am no less obliged to you for your care of the poor mad fellow that threatened to kill me, than I am for your kindness to my better friends. I have inquired," he continues, "how much of his land I hold, and do wish that he was capable of receiving it, and managing it, yet so as that I might not be thought to part with it to him for fear of being killed by him, so I may be threatened out of all, to which I do not find myself disposed."<sup>1</sup>

It was evidently only "the reluctance to do what may look like purchasing my safety," or of "shifting him away upon the approach of a Parliament" that prevented the Duke from moving actively in the matter of Purcel's release; though when he returned to England, Ormonde's pity for the poor man triumphed even over these considerations.<sup>2</sup> On his promise to transport himself abroad, he obtained Purcel's discharge. Nor did Ormonde's generous kindness end with the man's release. The Duke bought him a place among the *gens d'armes* in France, which, supplemented by the remaining fragments of his heritage, afforded Purcel a decent maintenance for the rest of his life.

In dealing with large classes of the community, no less than with unimportant individuals, Ormonde consistently shaped his conduct regardless of their behaviour towards himself. The treatment he had recently experi-

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. ii. p. 259. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, Kilkenny, 6th June 1674.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 261. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, Kilkenny, 17th February 1675.

enced from the Irish Catholics might well have excused him from advocating their cause, yet on discovering that they were menaced by a serious grievance he became their stoutest champion. Subscriptions to the first Adventurer's Loans had to be made in four successive portions. If, however, the subscriber, after paying the first instalment, failed to satisfy the three remaining calls, he thereby forfeited the amount of his first subscription and all future benefits to which he would have been entitled. The Act of Settlement, taking advantage of this clause, further decreed that all these forfeited subscriptions—known as "lapsed moneys"—should be vested in the King. On his part, Charles, wishing to gratify Orrery, made over a third of the lands, representing the "lapsed moneys" to Roger Boyle. The Explanatory Act, however, modified these arrangements. Charles therein renounced his claims on the lands thus forfeited, in consideration of a sum of £30,000 to be assessed on the lands of restored Roman Catholics. It was hoped that this would enable a greater number of Irish Catholics to be restored, but this hope proved illusive, though Orrery, none the less, continued to clamour for his dues. Naturally enough, the Roman Catholics, assessable for the purpose of discharging his so-called debt, protested, declaring that Orrery should content himself with the lands of which he already stood possessed, instead of requiring an additional £9,000 in hard cash. And, undoubtedly, it would have been monstrous to extort from them a payment for benefits of which they had been signally disappointed. In these mutual recriminations, time passed, but, finally, in November 1675, the Irish Privy Council delivered an award in the King's and consequently in Orrery's favour; and a few months later an order for levying the money was actually issued.

At this juncture, Ormonde happened to be in Ireland, and being thoroughly acquainted with all aspects of the controversy, made it his business to expound the rights of the case to Coventry, the Secretary of State. He pointed out the cruelty of taxing Irish landowners for

benefits, of which they had actually been disappointed. And although he admitted that the King was bound to find some means to discharge the obligations he had voluntarily incurred towards Orrery and others, yet he urged that it should not entail gross injustice to a class whose sufferings it had been the Sovereign's primary intention to relieve.<sup>1</sup> Ormonde's arguments carried more weight than might have been expected. The Government did not formally renounce the intention of levying the loan. Indeed, two years later, the project was again revived ; but, thanks to Ormonde's exertions, the assessment was deferred until with his return to Ireland as Viceroy it was finally relinquished. Thus Ormonde, whose sense of equity had made him the sole spokesman of the English settlers, when no one else had the courage to appear on their behalf, found himself, from the same cause, the chief advocate on the other side.

In the beginning of 1673, when Ormonde made himself the champion of the Irish landowners, it was already apparent that the Catholics' brief hour of prosperity was waning. When the English House of Commons realised that a Popish Archbishop could invoke the assistance of the civil power to suppress men, whose sole crime was loyalty to their Sovereign, the ever-latent jealousy of Romanist encroachments blazed forth anew. Nor was it a pacifying circumstance when it further transpired that large batches of Papists were admitted into the Corporations. And once more Irish Catholics, as a whole, paid for the follies of a small but militant faction. On March the 26th, 1673, the House of Commons voted an address denouncing the late proceedings in Ireland, demanding Colonel Richard Talbot's dismissal from his commands, the banishment of his ecclesiastical brother from the Kingdom, and the recall of the Commission for the review of the Irish Land Settlement. The King, as usual, showed himself tractable to Parliamentary dictation. The commission was repealed, having brought no other advantage to the Irish than an additional £2,000

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 481.

a year of pensions to certain nominees.<sup>1</sup> It can scarcely be doubted that the Irish party had again lost the opportunity of remedying undoubted wrongs, by the overweening ambitions and follies of its leaders.

That Ormonde should have succeeded in restraining the actions of the two contending parties in the State is all the greater tribute to the influence of his character, since his position at Court at this period was distinctly unenviable. The King ostentatiously ignored him. As Sir Robert Southwell says,

"neither then, nor ever after did he object anything to him, or ever require any account of things from him, which was so much the worse as leaving it to himself to divine his faults, and not giving him particulars whereon to work his justification."<sup>2</sup>

Courtiers and Ministers lost no occasion of improving on the royal example, but he held steadily on his way, his "peculiar talent of bearing misfortune with an invincible Patience" enabling him not to yield an inch of vantage to his enemies. They exhausted their efforts in acts of petty spite, which his unquenchable sense of humour frequently turned to their own confusion. Meanwhile he "never failed to speak his mind in Council on all occasions ; but, content with having done his duty, he showed no resentment if his advice was not followed."<sup>3</sup> Hard beset as he was, he could still comfort his friends by telling them "that he was like an old clock, that lay rusting by ; yet once in twenty-four hours, even that pointed to the true hour of the day, and it might prove so with him."

With all the King's faults, the nobility of Ormonde's attitude was not entirely lost on him. Consequently, although Buckingham was perpetually urging him to take the Lord-Steward's wand from Ormonde, the Sovereign could never be persuaded to this crowning act of unkindness. It was, however, to this somewhat negative

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 276-9.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxxix. p. 68. Sir Robert Southwell's notes, *idem*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 482.

form of benevolence that Charles, as we have seen, limited his dealings with his old servant. Ormonde continued to pay his daily respects to the Monarch, though these were seldom acknowledged by word or look. Once, indeed, the King broke through his hurtful silence. The day that Shaftesbury was made Lord-Chancellor, the King, curious to know Ormonde's opinion of the appointment, drew him into a window and enquired whether the Duke thought he had acted prudently in bestowing the Seals on the Great Achitophel. Ormonde's reply was characteristic. "Your Majesty," he said, "has doubtless acted very prudently in so doing, if you know how to get them from him again."<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless, even for a man of Charles's consummate social tact, it was not always easy or pleasant to persevere in a course of studied neglect towards a gentleman of Ormonde's cheerful and dignified self-detachment. It went against the King's natural courtesy to be pointedly rude. It went against his inclinations not to share in the gaiety, which—under a cloud, though he was—Ormonde knew so well how to evoke in others.<sup>2</sup> One day, the Duke, being the centre of a group of amused and happy talkers, "who, having no dependence on the Court, therefore dared to discourse with him," Charles "appeared in some confusion, because he durst take no notice of His Grace." The poor King was acting in obedience to his mentors, male and female, first and foremost amongst whom was the Duke of Buckingham. But that irrepressible person, who ever sacrificed all other considerations to the gibe of the moment, instead of coming to his submissive master's aid, merely increased the Sovereign's discomfort by the very audible whisper:

"I wish Your Majesty would resolve me one question, whether it be the Duke of Ormonde that is out of favour with Your Majesty, or Your Majesty that is out of favour with the Duke of Ormonde? for of the two, you really look the most out of countenance."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 484.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 484.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, pp. 483-4.

If the Duke, however, showed a smiling face to Jade Fortune, it must have been hard to his generous temper to realise, as he came to do, that his very attempts to help his friends only told against them.<sup>1</sup> At first he had "smilingly" told such as begged his aid: "I can do you no great good: I have only power left to do some hurt." In progress of time, even that jest was spoiled, and at last, no man or his business fared the worse for His Grace's opposition; it rather recommended them the more to the ministers. Colonel Cary Dillon, afterwards Earl of Roscommon, to whom the Duke, when he was in power, had done great kindnesses, came to him while he was in disgrace, and pressed him to use his interest for a suit he had to the King, to secure the benefit of a former grant. To engage him the more earnestly in his interest he told him that he had no friend at Court but God and His Grace.<sup>2</sup> "Alas! poor Cary," replied the Duke, "I pity thee; thou couldst not have two friends that had less interest at Court, or less respect shown them there."

Had Ormonde's domestic relations been modelled on those in fashion at Whitehall, his condition would have been truly pitiable. Happily, with one exception, his children were a source of happiness and pride to their father. The exception was that scape-grace Lord John, and his extreme youth made it not unreasonable to hope for his ultimate reform.

From the general tenour of his ways, it is probable that Lord John had never repaired those early deficiencies in his education so deplored by Mr Page. His lack of French and Latin might, however, have been condoned had he, otherwise, followed in Ossory's footsteps, but it is to be feared that Lord John's character did not atone for his want of learning. After the Duke's departure from Ireland, he had remained in Dublin in command of a troop of horse, and the reports of his doings that reached England could not be welcome to the parental ear. Writing to her brother-in-law, George Mathew, in

<sup>1</sup> Carte, p. 485.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.*

February 1671-2, Elizabeth Ormonde did not mince matters. The hazards run by Ossory and Arran in the naval campaign, were, she said, the "more uneasy" to her, since the

"third son, who lives in greater security than the rest, does live so scandalously and unprofitably unto himself, as is a great affliction to his friends. I am told," she continues, "that he is much given to drinking and to the keeping of the worst company, that he has very ill servants and is extremely cheated by them, is very much indebted at Dublin as well as here, so it is strange to see so good an allowance as he has from his annuity and entertainment is so ill managed by his extravagance and expense as not to afford him a decent maintenance, and to observe him so little regarded in the world as nobody does or can commend him for any one good quality."<sup>1</sup>

The Duchess concludes with the double petition characteristic of such dismal epistles. She entreats Mathew to use his own influence and that of their friends for the profligate's reformation, and, at the same time, to obtain a complete list of his debts. In a covering letter, she further explains that she has shown the above to

"my lord, who advises that you should, as from yourself in kindness to my son John, shew him this letter, but not send it to him, and from it ground your discourse and advice unto him."<sup>2</sup>

Neither the Duke's diplomacy, nor the Duchess's sermons had, apparently, much effect on the spendthrift. Lord John took a high and mighty, though scarcely a very original, line in response, throwing the responsibility for the financial crisis on his parent's parsimony. Tactics such as these are probably as old as the differences between extravagant children and their scandalised elders. Indeed, there is a familiar ring about the peroration to the naughty boy's letter. He begs:

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 448. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, February 1671-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 449.

"Your Ladyship to prevail with my father that he will either add to my allowance here, or send me abroad where I may spend a more comfortable life than I do now in having Your Ladyships censure of being an ill husband, which I will endeavour to clear myself of."<sup>1</sup>

Although, unfortunately, we do not know the Duchess's answer to this singular apology, we do possess the list of Lord John's debts and assets, which hardly supports his latter contention. Like the rest of Charles II.'s civil and military service, Lord John's pay as Captain of the Guards was undoubtedly in arrears. Nevertheless, these same arrears, amounting altogether to £668, were all he could have brought forward to meet bills reaching a total of £2,135, 19s. 6½d.<sup>2</sup> Nor do the items, when examined, disprove the Duchess's accusation. A single groom's keep comes to £114, a sum more in proportion with the board wages of the twentieth than of the seventeenth century. The solution of the economic anachronism is doubtless to be found, as the Duchess surmised, in the French proverb, "tel maitre, tel valet." Naturally the mercer, the tailor, and the haberdasher were answerable for the greater portion of Lord John's expenditure. To the first tradesman, he owed £309, 18s. 5d. Of the two tailors who divided the honour of his custom, the one claimed £275, 7s. 11d., the other £80. The girdler, however, ran them close with a bill of £51, 14s. od., while the apothecary's charge of £78, 3s. 11d. showed that the primrose path was not one of unchequered revelry.

Eventually, despite his protests, the Duke found means to settle Lord John's debts; and, two years later, the family began to entertain hopes of retrieving their Benjamin, body and soul and estate, by that most common of prescriptions—a good marriage. The bride designate was Lady Ann Chichester, Lord Donegal's only daughter. According to the matrimonial go-between on this occasion,

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. pp. 312-3. Lord John Butler to Duchess of Ormonde, 10th April 1671.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, pp. 318-9.

a certain Carroll Bolton, she was "very fair, virtuous, of an excellent humour, and mighty ingenious." The sole adverse criticism he permitted himself regarded her height. He acknowledged that Lady Ann, though "exceeding pretty," was short, but to his optimism even this defect did not appear irremediable. "Marriage," he stated, "would increase her stature!"<sup>1</sup> It may be mentioned that Lady Ann was her father's heiress, bringing a dowry of £3,000 a year to her husband.

In these circumstances, the conditions Lord and Lady Donegal required of their future son-in-law were not unduly exacting. It is clear that to Lord Donegal, John's chief recommendation lay in the fact of his being Ormonde's son. It was no mere compliment on Lord Donegal's part when he said there was not a family in the three kingdoms, for which he and his wife cherished a greater esteem than the Butlers,<sup>2</sup> though he could not help suspecting that Lord John's "address" to Lady Ann was rather out "of a dutiful compliance to his noble parent than any real affection he had to her person." Moreover, tales concerning the young man's wild doings had penetrated to his respectable circle.

"I am sure," wrote the anxious parent to the trusted confidant, "you are not a stranger to the reports of people as to his many misses, and yet could I be assured that he was wholly reclaimed from that course, which is now almost grown epidemical, and that he could heartily love my child, I shall not be against suitable proposals. . . . She is our all," he somewhat pathetically concludes, "and therefore I am sure you will think us obliged to look after her comfortable settlement."

Lady Donegal's verdict was much the same as her lord's, though, she, too, harboured doubts of the reality of Lord John's "passion" for her child. That child, however, was evidently the young man's best ally. John knew women if he did not know books; and he had scarcely

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., p. 342. Carroll Bolton to Ormonde, 20th July 1674.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 362. Lord Donegal to Sir W. Flower, Belfast, 3rd March 1674-5.

presented himself in the character of a suitor, before the "ingenious" young lady had made up her mind concerning him. "Lady Ann hath been so free with her mother that she hath commended the person of Lord John, and more effectually his humour."<sup>1</sup> The rest was a foregone conclusion. Lord Donegal's unexpected and sudden death in March 1674, and the fact that his widow was evidently less enthusiastic about the match than he had been, caused some delay in the final arrangements. Lady Donegal's objections, however, were apparently somewhat mitigated by Lord John being created Earl of Gowran, and in January 1675, while Ormonde was on a visit to Ireland, the marriage was celebrated. In all respects Lord Gowran could consider himself a lucky man, for his charming wife brought him a great estate both in England and Ireland. But Ormonde's youngest son was not born under a fortunate star. The apothecary's bill was the least part of the cost of his dissipations. His health was ruined; and almost immediately after his marriage, the symptoms of consumption were apparent. In March 1676, Lord Arran, who seems to have been John's chief advocate in the family, wrote to Ormonde to say, "that the only way left for his recovery," was a journey to France, which he and the Duchess were already planning.<sup>2</sup> Lord John was not an easy patient, for Lord Arran confesses that

"the difficulty my mother is under now is how to find a fit person to go along with him, for his disease has made him so peevish to his servants that they dare not speak to him. She desires," says Arran, "you would think of somebody and send your answer with all convenient speed."

Whether the "fit person" was eventually discovered, does not appear, but to France Lord Gowran betook himself, and here, some six months later, he passed away at the early age of thirty-four.<sup>3</sup> Ormonde had "laid his son's manner of life to heart," and before the unfortunate

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 9. Lord Arran to Ormonde 5th March 1676.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 498.

youth died, he wrote him a letter, "so noble, just, pious, and Christian," that Carte greatly regretted not being able to include it in his biography. An anecdote he has preserved, deserves, however, to be repeated, as characteristic alike of the "agreeable" prodigal, and of Ormonde's sense of humour. Mr Cottington of Holmepatrick, an old friend of the entire Butler family, had set his heart on rebuilding a ruinous chapel on his estate. Every visitor to Holmepatrick was consequently asked for a donation either towards its erection or decoration. Lord John's contribution took the form of the Ten Commandments, to be placed above the altar. The young man's gift filled Mr Cottington with equal gratitude and edification, sentiments on which he took the opportunity of discoursing at some length to the Duke. Ormonde listened. But his comment on Lord John's newborn piety, was somewhat dry. "I can easily guess at the nature of my son's piety; he can readily part with things that he does not care to keep himself."

## CHAPTER VII

### ORMONDE AND HIS FAMILY

THERE was a time when the Duchess of Ormonde confessed to the fear that although Arran's "reason" was beyond that of his younger brother, yet he might not succeed in breaking loose from the "strange course of life" in which he sought distraction from his domestic sorrows.<sup>1</sup> There was, however, good stuff in Arran. After a while he renounced hard drinking, and, on being once more provided with a wife and a home, became again the useful and respectable member of society he had been previous to Lady Mary's death. The second Lady Arran was Dorothy Ferrers, daughter of John Ferrers of Tamworth Castle. It was a match that gave unmitigated satisfaction to the Duchess, for the bride belonged to one of the "best and ancientest families in England."<sup>2</sup> Moreover, though her dowry did not exceed £12,000, as Elizabeth Ormonde candidly pointed out, there was "but one sickly young man, her brother, between her (Dorothy) and £3,000 a year after her father's decease." The wedding was celebrated in 1673, and thereafter we find few references in the Ormonde Manuscripts to Dorothy Ferrers. But, judging from the affectionate tone of a letter she addressed to Lord Arran, begging him—of all odd requests—to bring six bottles of "White Muskedine or old Malaga to baithe" (*sic*) their child's legs, Lady Arran must habitually have been on happy terms with her husband.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the entire absence of stiffness

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 446. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 21st January 1670.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 452. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 13th May 1672.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 6. Countess of Arran to Earl of Arran, 22nd January 1675-6.

which characterises her phraseology is unusual, though not unknown, in the conjugal correspondence of that period. During the August following his marriage, Arran was created Lord Butler of Weston in the Peerage of England. He thus became possessed of a seat in the House of Lords at the same time as his father and elder brother, an unusual conjunction of relatives in that assembly, two of whom were also Knights of the Garter.<sup>1</sup>

It is at least curious that while Charles was heaping slights on Ormonde himself, to the Duke's sons, as their recent honours testified, he never grudged smiles or favours. In fact, with regard to Ossory he did not confine himself to compliments. Learning that the Earl's money matters were more than usually embarrassed, in the course of 1671, he generously came to the rescue. He discharged a debt amounting to no less than £8,000 that Ossory had contracted, and contrived this in so secret a manner that Sir Stephen Fox—the comptroller—was alone in knowledge of the royal largesse. It is true that Ossory was a subject whom kings delighted to honour. Nor could his worst enemy have termed him a carpet knight, so that, for once, Charles's gifts were not misplaced.

In March 1672 Ossory took part as second-in-command in Sir Robert Holmes's attack on the Dutch Smyrna fleet. It was a bloody fight, for the Dutch, anticipating Holmes's action, had provided their merchantmen with a large convoy of men-o'-war. Ossory's handling of his ship, *The Resolution*, was much admired, but all the courage and skill he displayed failed to reconcile Ormonde to his son's share in the engagement. The Duke regarded Holmes's action as an unjustifiable violation of international law, for England and Holland were still at peace, war not being declared until a fortnight after Holmes had swooped down on the homeward bound Dutch argosies. In subsequent years, Ossory's judgment of his own conduct was no less severe than that of his father; and, just before his death, the Earl confessed

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 487.

to John Evelyn that he considered it "the only blot in his life, and troubled him exceedingly. Though he was commanded, and never examined when he was so,"<sup>1</sup> yet he spoke of his participation in the affair with a "regret and detestation," which must certainly have been incomprehensible to the majority of his contemporaries.

No later, however, than the May of the same year, 1672, Ossory was able to prove his capacity and mettle after a fashion which must have given unalloyed satisfaction to Ormonde. In the ensuing battle of May the 28th, when De Ruyter contrived to catch the Duke of York and the allied English and French fleets unawares in Southwold Bay, Ossory was in command of the *Victory*, a second rate man-o'-war. As the outcome of the day, both sides claimed the victory, though the award of posterity would seem to be in favour of the assailants. At the commencement of the fight, Ossory made straight for De Ruyter, endeavouring to lay aboard the Admiral's flag-ship. But the great Commander had more pressing cares than to respond to Ossory's challenge. He himself subsequently told Arlington that he saw

"some daring English spark come towards him to get honour, but his business not being so much to fight as to keep others to it, he sheered off and avoided the engagement."<sup>2</sup>

Although he could not force a personal encounter on the Dutchman, Ossory, nevertheless, contrived to keep his vessel to the front. And he was considered fortunate to emerge from an action, in which Lord Sandwich and many other brave men lost their lives, with no further hurt than a couple of bruises from a splinter.<sup>3</sup>

Eager as Ossory had been for the fight, he was equally anxious, when the battle was over, to succour the sufferers. With this object he promptly despatched his secretary, Mr Muleys, to visit the sick and wounded seamen at

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn's "Diary," vol. ii. p. 367, 26th July 1680.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 486.

<sup>3</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 449. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 4th June 1672.

St Thomas's Hospital, and to relieve their necessities.<sup>1</sup> By his orders, Muleys bestowed "on the most maimed 40s., to such as had less hurts 20s., and to those who had the slightest wounds 10s. a piece." For once the Duchess of Ormonde did not find fault with the expenditure of her open-handed son, who, in truth, was following her own example during the troublous days of the Rebellion. She could not, however, refrain from bewailing the great debt he had incurred by going to sea,<sup>2</sup> though we may be certain that the general recognition of Ossory's merits must have gone far to reconcile her to the calls on her exchequer.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, as the universal grief at his premature death was to demonstrate, the title of the "darling of the English nation," accorded by general consent to Ossory after the glorious day at Southwold, scarcely seemed an exaggeration. Happily his modesty remained proof against undue laudations. On the plea that he did not consider himself seaman enough for such a charge, he refused the succession to Sir James Holmes's flag, though the King could not be deterred for singling him out for distinction, seizing the opportunity when he and the Queen visited the Navy in June 1672, and supped with Ossory on board his ship, publicly to announce that he intended to give him the first Garter that became vacant.<sup>4</sup>

Two months later the King was enabled to redeem his pledge. The ceremony took place at Windsor in October; and the Duchess's next few letters to Mathew are divided between quiet gratification at her son's well-earned honours, and dismay at the financial difficulties, increased rather than lessened by these same favours. The Duke subscribed £200 towards the expenses of his son's installation, and the Duchess could not refuse herself the pleasure of bestowing a diamond George on her

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 600.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 450. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 16th November 1672.

<sup>3</sup> Williamson Papers, vol. i. Henry Bull to Williamson, 22nd August 1673.

<sup>4</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 450. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 22nd June 1672.

firstborn. But she had some trouble to rake together the requisite £200 to pay for her gift. Bad trade in Ireland had reacted on the Duchess's pin money. Instead of receiving her usual £400 from the annual sales of sheep wool, not a penny reached her that autumn—"a great disappointment," as the poor lady, not unnaturally, remarked. Once more she was forced to beseech the ingenious Mathew to devise some other means for supplying this deficiency.<sup>1</sup>

In November 1672 the Duc d'Anjou, Louis XIV.'s younger son, died. It became necessary for Charles to send a special envoy to France to condole with his royal cousin, and Ossory, fresh from his triumphs, was designated for the post.<sup>2</sup> The event showed that the King's choice was singularly felicitous. Louis was so pleased with Ossory that he pressed him to accept a commission in the French army, bidding him name his own salary, and adding—in truly princely style—"et j'en feray au delà," for "I know," said the courteous Monarch, "though you are born to a great estate, yet whilst your father lives, you are in the position of a cadet." To refuse an offer couched in such flattering terms must have presented some difficulties to Ossory. Nor did Louis's efforts to secure his services terminate with this single interview. The next day, Louvois, a personage hardly less majestic than his august master, arrived at Ossory's lodgings to repeat the King's proposals, with the additional intimation that in stating the emoluments to be attached to his commission, Ossory was to be "as bold as a lion." His Lordship returned him a compliment in answer, upon which he said: "Come, my Lord, I see you are modest, let me speak for you. Will 20,000 pistoles for equipage, or 10,000 pistoles do? if not, say what you will have, and choose what command you please."

When we remember that at this period the Roi Soleil was the European war-lord, we cannot easily over-estimate

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 451. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 10th November 1672.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 600.

the sacrifice Ossory made in rejecting offers so splendid. Under the *Fleurs de lys* he would have had ample opportunity to gratify his passion for campaigning. But while his country remained at war, Ormonde's son could not reconcile it to his conscience to exchange her colours even for those of her ally, and he remained true to his original decision. The Grand Monarque was not accustomed to have his advances declined. Ossory had, however, the art of speaking the truth without giving offence. On this occasion he was specially fortunate. He left the Court of France in undiminished favour with its Sovereign, carrying with him a jewel valued at £2,000, as a token of the King's continued esteem.

During the renewed contest with the Dutch in the following year, Ossory added considerably to his reputation; though the fashion in which he got his chance of distinguishing himself shows how very unsystematic were the naval methods that obtained under the second Charles, for it was merely owing to an accidental visit of Ossory to Rye in May, when it transpired that, although the fleet was due to sail, a rear-admiral of the *Blue Squadron* was lacking, that he obtained the vacant command,<sup>1</sup> being gazetted to the *St Michael*, a second rate man-o'-war, on the 17th of May. He had not long to wait to justify his appointment, as he took a leading part in the battles with De Ruyter of May the 28th, and June the 4th. In both these engagements he again seemed to bear a charmed existence, which was the more remarkable in one "so prodigal of his life," as the list of killed and wounded was very heavy. Amongst the former was a friend and relative of Ossory's, that James Hamilton whose conversion the Duke of Ormonde had so tenderly championed in earlier years. James died of his wounds a few days after the battle of June the 4th, to the sorrow of the Duchess of Ormonde, who evidently sought comfort in the thought of the "greatest patience" this gallant soldier and courtier had shown in the manner of his

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 452. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 27th May 1673.

ending.<sup>1</sup> "He said nothing that was ill in his ravings, but of the business of the sea." The differences his change of religion had caused between him and his devout mother must long since have been appeased, for Elizabeth Ormonde declared that she could not prevail with herself to write to his parents on a subject "so greatly affecting to them."

Ossory's perils were not ended that year with the battle of the 4th of June.<sup>2</sup> During the great sea-fight of August the 11th, the commander - in - chief, Admiral Spragge, being slain, Ossory came to the rescue of the flagship. All through the day, he fought off the enemy from the disabled vessel, and at night finally towed her away in triumph. By that time, however, even Ossory must have thought it well to beat a retreat. No one was then left alive on his quarter - deck save himself, his page, and Captain Narborough. Undoubtedly, the young admiral had earned the further promotion that fell to his share in September, when he was appointed to the chief command of the fleet at the Nore, during Prince Rupert's absence, according to custom, receiving henceforward an annual pension of £250. Up to that moment, the year 1673 had been propitious to Ossory's star, but in November he realised one of the greatest deceptions of his short life.<sup>3</sup> During one of his frequent visits to Holland, he had noticed that the important harbour of Helvoetsluis, being very difficult of approach to any but native pilots, had been abandoned to its natural defences. Ossory saw that only a comparatively small force would be needed to effect its seizure, though if it was fortified it would be of immense value to its possessor. Ossory's plans met at first with the King's entire approval; and he was given five men-of-war, and transport for twelve or fifteen hundred troops, with a promise of additional help if he succeeded in his surprise attack. No precaution that could ensure success was neglected by the Earl. He

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 452. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew,  
27th May 1673.

<sup>2</sup> D. N. B., article on Ossory.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet, vol. i. pp. 594-5.

kidnapped two or three Dutch pilots, whom he kept in readiness to steer him through the proper channel; and he imparted his designs to none save his father and Lord Arlington. At last everything was ready, and he joyfully came to take the King's sailing orders. Then occurred the catastrophe. At the eleventh hour, Charles had not been able to resist the temptation of revealing so promising a project to the Duke of Buckingham. A more fatal confidant could scarcely have been chosen. As Burnet truly says, George Villiers

"would have seen the King and all his affairs perish rather than that persons, whom he hated—like Ossory and Ormonde—should have the honour of such a piece of merit."

He was quite equal to making Ossory's well-planned scheme appear impracticable and ridiculous, and in a few hours he so wrought on the King as to make him withdraw his consent to the attempt. In vain Ossory assured Charles that he

"should fire the Dutch ships with a halfpenny candle, or (the King) should place his head upon Westminster Bridge, by Cromwell's, for the greatest traitor that ever breathed."<sup>1</sup>

The King ruthlessly countermanded the expedition. Nor can it have consoled Ossory to discover—as he shortly did—who was the author of his defeat. After peace was made between England and Holland, Ossory told the Dutch Ambassador what a narrow escape of losing Helvoetsluis the States had run. He added that since he had not destroyed them "by touching them in that weak and sore place, he had no mind that they should lie any longer open to such another attack." The agitation of the Dutchmen on learning the plot, and the promptitude wherewith they set themselves to make Helvoetsluis well-nigh impregnable, was the best proof

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 602.

that Ossory's plan had not been the hare-brained adventure depicted by Buckingham.

Family events of importance to the Butlers were crowded into the year 1673.<sup>1</sup> Writing to George Mathew in May, the Duchess commented both on the marriage of Lady Elizabeth Butler to Lord Derby and on the death of Lady Thurles, which had occurred in the beginning of that month. The high courage and integrity owned alike by Elizabeth Ormonde and her fine old mother-in-law had evidently been a link between the two women. The Duchess's words of regret "for a person so much beloved and valued as she was and deserved to be by all her family" have that ring of sincerity which cannot be counterfeited. To Lady Clancarty, Ormonde unburdened himself of some part of the emotion their mother's death had aroused.<sup>2</sup> The epistle from his half brother,<sup>3</sup> George Mathew, apprising him of their common loss, had apparently been accompanied by two other letters written some time before by Lady Thurles, and kept by her in readiness to be despatched to him on her death. Lady Thurles was a proud and devoted mother. But she was a Roman Catholic, and it is touching to note that she had reserved this supreme appeal for the hour when it would come charged with all the force of a final farewell. Nor did her simple strategy fail to elicit the most tender and loving of responses from her son. These last messages, he told Lady Clancarty,

"are very suitable to the whole course of her life, full of kindness and piety, persuading me to an impartial enquiry into the way I am in, in order to eternal happiness or misery. She avoided to interpose her authority in that case, and in that only, wherein I should in my whole life have shewed least aversion to her will; and thus far her last commands shall be obeyed, that I will neglect

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 452. Duchess of Ormonde to G. Mathew, 27th May 1673.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 183. Duke of Ormonde to Lady Clancarty, 10th June 1673.

<sup>3</sup> After the death of Lord Thurles, Lady Thurles married a Mr Mathew.

no means within my power to attain to the knowledge of truth, and then I am sure, no earthly consideration shall hinder my following it. I wish all Christians the same inclination and preparation, and then I am persuaded we should find truth, or be pardoned our missing it. The letters," he added, "I shall ever carefully keep by me, as dear remembrances of a virtuous mother, who has left an unblemished memory and I hope many other blessings to our family."

The other domestic event, to which the Duchess referred in the above letter to Mathew—the marriage of her eldest grand-daughter, Lady Elizabeth Butler, to William Stanley, 9th Earl of Derby — was naturally of no little importance to the bride's family.

"My lord and I," says the Duchess with her usual frankness, "were for strengthening of our family by the best alliances to fortify it against the malice of mean and little people, that has laboured all they can to ruin us."<sup>1</sup>

Undoubtedly, a union between the grandchildren of two such conspicuous cavaliers as the great Duke of Ormonde and the martyr Earl of Derby was singularly appropriate. At that particular juncture, it is true, the fortunes of the Sovereign of the Isle of Man were at a low ebb, but domains so vast only needed intelligent nursing to be effectually retrieved for the owner. As for Lord Derby himself, he was credited with the virtues generally ascribed to young gentlemen who have not yet had the opportunity of making fools of themselves. And he was certainly as enthusiastic about the match as could be desired, having been greatly encouraged thereto by his guardians, Lord Strafford and Sir Thomas Wharton. Nowadays, the age of the pair would inspire the most matchmaking parents with misgivings, and even in the seventeenth century, when the serious business of life began betimes, only optimists could expect much wisdom in a bridegroom of seventeen and a bride of thirteen. To the Duchess, however, whose

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 452. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew.

marriage had taken place when she was scarcely a year older than her grand-daughter, such an objection cannot have seemed vital. Nor should we forget that whether betrothed at fourteen or twenty-four Lady Elizabeth's marriage was almost certain to be a *mariage de convenience*. Well-nigh the sole exception to this rule in the Butler annals, was her own father, Ossory's, and happy as it was, it had probably not endeared the love-match, pure and simple, to the Duchess of Ormonde.

In her enthusiasm, the Duchess did not scruple to describe Lord Derby as a "very considerable and well-natured young man," who had testified his "great kindness and respect" for the head of the house, into which he was marrying, by begging Ormonde to act as guardian to himself and his estates.<sup>1</sup> Such an arrangement entailed no small trouble to the Duke, though as he told Lord Derby,

"having had the honour to be known to My Lord your grandfather in my younger days, and after to be engaged in the same cause, though not in the same kingdom with him, I have still been disposed from my knowledge of his great merit to serve his Family as any opportunity should be offered."<sup>2</sup>

In fact, it seems that, despite all his worldly wisdom, the Duke was prepared to transfer something of the aureole of the Martyr Cavalier to the brow of an untried youth. In the matter of monetary sacrifices to promote a marriage between Earl James's grandson and his own grand-daughter, he was ungrudging. Then and there, for £6,000 paid down, he sold a pension of £1,000 a year he enjoyed as Gentleman of the Bedchamber.<sup>3</sup> Out of this sum, he immediately handed over £3,000 to Lord Derby, covenanting to pay the remaining £7,000 of Elizabeth Butler's dowry to her husband in the course of the next two years. These preliminaries adjusted, in

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 452. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 13th May 1673.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccix. f. 119. Ormonde to Lord Derby, Clarendon House, 18th February.

<sup>3</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 452. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 13th May 1673.

July 1673, the marriage was quietly celebrated ; and a week later, Lord Derby set out for the Continent, while his child-wife remained in England with her parents.<sup>1</sup>

In selecting Paris as the best place to complete his education, Lord Derby followed both the general fashion of that period and the example of his distinguished father-in-law. Ossory was, however, made of different stuff to the boy, for whose well-being Ormonde had made himself answerable. Lord Derby did not go unaccompanied. On the Duke's recommendation, a certain Mr James Forbes was selected as the young man's companion and tutor. Save that he figures as "Phaleg" in the second part of Absalom and Achitophel, no one has ever contraverted Carte's assertion that Forbes was "a gentleman of parts, virtue, and prudence."<sup>2</sup> But the parts and virtues did not impress Lord Derby. The prudence was simply abhorrent to a lad bent on spending, or rather squandering, his substance.

In the beginning, the complaints of Lord Derby's behaviour which reached Ormonde were, perhaps, merely such as are incident to the career of unlaborious youth. Thus, although professors of language and dancing were engaged, Forbes was fain to confess that although if Lord Derby would "but a little mynd" his dancing, he might do well, his Lordship as yet showed no inclination save for riding of the great horse and playing of tennis." His "ydle way of squandering" was a more disquieting symptom. Nevertheless, Forbes having assumed the management of the funds, it was to be hoped that Lord Derby would not succeed in getting rid of £1,000 a month, instead of the £100 to which the Duke had limited their expenditure, a sum that Forbes himself was confident would furnish the boy not only with necessaries, but with clothes and pocket money on a generous scale.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iii. p. 453. Duchess of Ormonde to Mathew, 15th July 1673.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 448; Add. MSS. 33589 f. 147. Forbes to Duke of Ormonde.

<sup>3</sup> Carte MSS., vol. I. f. 109. Ormonde to Forbes, 28th September 1673.

Hopeful, Forbes could not be reckoned. Yet events were not to justify even this humble forecast. The boy's position, supposed wealth, and evident folly marked him out as a ready prey to the unscrupulous; and he had not been three months in the French capital before he made friends with the very class of Englishmen against whom the Duke had warned him. In especial, he fell under the dominion of a certain Meritt, son of an English doctor domiciled in Paris. No influence could be worse; Meritt "le débauchant tant par les femmes de mauvaise vie que par le jeu."<sup>1</sup> Forbes's remonstrances with his pupil were vain; but after Meritt had brought the young Earl home drunk, and involved him in a low brawl, to the danger of his life, Forbes thought it well to intimate to this singular mentor that he must discontinue his visits to the Hôtel de Genlis. The only result, however, of this prohibition—at which Meritt openly jeered—was that Lord Derby dismissed his governor. Forbes was not, either physically or mentally, a strong man, but he was conscientious, and he refused to leave Lord Derby, until Ormonde, to whom alone he considered himself responsible, relieved him of his trust; and as he had no desire to remain in so unpleasant a situation, he wrote at once to the Duke, acquainting him with what had passed, and begging his permission to retire.<sup>2</sup> A few days later, a somewhat involved epistle from Lord Derby put Ormonde into possession of that young gentleman's version of the story. It was a poor essay at self-justification. The boy informed Ormonde that he had never liked Forbes, although, out of respect to the Duke, he had hitherto refrained from making complaints against a man recommended by his guardian, but "flesh and blood," he blustered, "could not induce a person who hath been the rudest to me, that any tutor in my father's time gave me more respect than

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 33589 f. 162. *Intérrogatoire devant Claude le Lefébure conseiller du Roy, Bailly, juge ordinaire civil et criminal, au baillage de S. Germain des Prés, pour M.M. les religieux, prieurs et Convent de l'Abbaye du dict lieu.*

<sup>2</sup> Add. MSS., 33589 f. 172. Forbes to Ormonde, November 1673.

he hath done."<sup>1</sup> Lord Derby loftily "supposed" that Ormonde would not have him "to cringe" to a paid companion. Nor, whatever the latter might say, would he believe that Ormonde would rather credit the tutor's tale than his lordship's. Otherwise, Ormonde "would never have suffered mee to have the honour of Your Grace's alliance, if you had thought I was brought soe low as to keepe my selfe up with telling untruths."

Here was a pretty coil. Yet it cannot have seemed beyond the skill of a wise elder to compose. Accordingly, Ormonde instantly despatched Ossory's secretary, Muleys, to Paris, charged with letters and directions to mediate a reconciliation between the parties. The Duke's letter is worth reading.

"My Lord," wrote Ormonde, "it is certaine there are few things in this world I have sett my heart upon, or that I am more desirous to employ my utermost Industry and interest in, then to be an Instrument of restoring your Family in Your person to that greatnesse and honor which hath so long been hereditary to it; nor could anything more afflict me than discouragements such as may threaten a totall disappointment of my endeavours. Your Lordship must therefore allow me, on a Subject I am thus affected, to use all needful Freedome. I find by Your Lordship's letter, Your Exception to Mr Forbes is for want of due respect to the manner of his giving advice and living with you, wherein, as Your Lordship affermes it, I will suppose he may have been Faulty. But then give me leave to ask why Your Lordship would not, in all the time of his being with you, give me some intimation of Your dissatisfaction and his miscarriage that I might have admonished him to better behave, and if Admonition would not have served, provided you of another; and here, Your Lordship will give me leave to take it unkindly that you should dismiss a person recommended to you in that quality by me, without acquainting me with your purpose or his Fault. It is true, Mr Forbes has written mee a long letter concerning Your Lordship's displeasure at him, which he attributes to the Credit one Meritt has gotten with you, which gave me cause to enquire after the Man, and by the

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 33589 f. 158. Lord Derby to Ormonde, Paris, 12th November 1673.

unanimous Report of all that know him he is declared to be the most Vitious and worthless fellow that this Towne hath bred or corrupted. Now, if Mr Forbes hath been earnest with you, even to unmannerlyness, to withdraw you from so dangerous and so lowe a conversation, Your Lordship will live to thank him for his Rudeness and to repent you tooke not his advice. Not to hold Your Lordship upon a subject that I doubt is not, though it might be, pleasing to you, lett me tell you, you cannot want more proper and noble opportunity of manifesting the greatnesse of your mind and courage than that of having a Person in your service, wherein few of any worth will be ambitious to succeed him if they shall be subject to affronts and dismission upon the Investigation and misinformation of such a paltry fellow as Meret, who can have no other designe than to live upon the debaucherys he would endeavour to lead you into and to subsist by Your ruine. I shall therefore in the first place beseach your Lordship to withdraw yourself from that fellow's conversation, otherwise I shall but work heartlessly in your affairs, as men doe in such things wherein they despaire of sucess, or care not whether they have or noe. In the next place," Ormonde continued, as Lord Derby "wanted language and experience for the management of his affairs," he begged him "to give up his resentment against Forbes, until someone could be found to replace the latter. If Lord Derby complied with this request, the Duke assured him that he would continue to labour in all his concerns with alacrity, as becomes your most affectionate Father, and most humble servant."<sup>1</sup>

Unquestionably, Ormonde's epistle was well framed to allay bickerings, but, by the time letter and bearer reached Paris, a state of affairs had arisen to which neither were adequate. On Forbes's refusal to abandon his charge, Meritt, who was well aware that the tutor was the sole obstacle to his designs on the silly lad's purse, exchanged words for deeds. Twice he deliberately attempted to assassinate Forbes. His first assault was at a tripôt, where he and a personage of the same kidney had followed their enemy. Meritt opened proceedings by administering a "soufflet" to the tutor, and then, seconded by his ally, the

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 33589 f. 166. Ormonde to Lord Derby, Clarendon House, 17th November 1673.

pair drew their swords and fell on Forbes. Carte hints that the worthy soul's main deficiency for his post was a want of swordsmanship, though on this occasion, it must be admitted that he came brilliantly out of the ordeal.<sup>1</sup> Having put Meritt's auxiliary to flight, he then turned his attention to Meritt and was "happy enough," as he modestly told Monsieur le Bailly du Roy, and generous enough, as we may say, to spare the rascal's life. It was wasted magnanimity. A few days later, Meritt, accompanied by a disguised footman, arrived at the Hôtel de Genlis with the express purpose of despatching his inconvenient opponent. The fortunes of war were reversed. At the critical moment, the lacquey thrust a stick between Forbes's legs, tripping him up, and, as he fell to the ground, Meritt dealt the luckless preceptor several dangerous wounds. Why he was not slain outright, history does not relate. His patience was, however, now exhausted. He placed the matter in the hands of the police, and the Sieur Meritt and his assistant were promptly lodged in the Châtelet.

With his foe safely locked up, Forbes might have hoped for comparative peace, but this was not to be. Incensed at his friend's imprisonment, Lord Derby flew off to the nearest magistrate and accused Forbes of sequestering his money and effects, of breaking open his private casket, and of drawing his sword upon him. In his turn, at the young nobleman's petition, Forbes also was arrested and imprisoned.

Such was the situation that confronted Mr Muleys on his arrival in Paris. He found Forbes still in gaol, though he was soon able to report his release; for the examining magistrate quickly recognised how false and frivolous were the accusations trumped up by Lord Derby's boon companions for his lordship's use.<sup>2</sup> Meritt's attempted assassination, which Lord Derby

"owned as his owne act, was soe fowle and soe inhumaine, and managed," Muleys, contemptuously said, "with such

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS. 33589 f. 162. *Intérrogatoire, etc.*

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, f. 160. Muleys to Ormonde, November 1673.

apparent malice and weakness that the Judge, notwithstanding all his Lordship's endeavours and threats, promptly discharged Mr Forbes, who is at a private lodging. The dishonour and detriment that has and may fall upon My Lord thereby would be great if Mr Forbes would take those advantages against him, which the laws here doe give him, but the poor Governor," Muleys told Ormonde, "in reverence and respect to Your Grace doth wholly desist!"

If Lord Derby was spared the disgrace of public exposure, his condition was not comfortable. After three months' residence in Paris, he was still incapable of talking French. Nor were the two footmen and the page who remained with him better linguists than his lordship. And at this juncture assistance was the more necessary to the headstrong boy, since he had set his ambitions on bringing off Meritt triumphantly. In these straits, he was forced to admit that he needed some one to assist him, although he stipulated that this person "should not value himself as a Gentleman." But it was evident that the latter would have no light task, for the contemptuous manner in which the magistrate had dismissed Lord Derby's application did not augur well for the dear friend. It was already said that Meritt could not escape either banishment or a heavy fine; and as he had not the means to discharge the fine, and it was certain that Lord Derby's trustees would not pay it for him, the future looked black for Le Sieur Meret. The prospect of retribution awaiting the chief villain, did not, however, console Muleys. Lord Derby's chosen associates had led him into evil ways, causing "many intolerable passions to flame out, the particulars of which," the secretary sadly told Ormonde, "are not fitt to grieve your noble mind withall." Evidently, Muleys had found the office of almoner to Ossory's wounded seamen more grateful than that of reclaiming the sailor earl's ill-conditioned son-in-law; and, like Forbes, Muleys earnestly entreated to be recalled.

Ormonde's feelings on receiving the secretary's report are reflected in his next letter to Lord Derby. Hitherto, as the Duke confided to Forbes, he had diplomatically

abstained from charging Lord Derby "in a flat contradiction, which might exasperate him and frustrate a reconciliation."<sup>1</sup> But Muley's account of the late happenings in Paris had put a fresh complexion on the business. The hour for tactful reticence was past, and the Duke's letter of November the 17th was uncompromising. After telling him that a report was spread all over the town, very little to His Lordship's honour, of a base and barbarous attempt on Meritt's part to assassinate Forbes, who was also said to be dangerously wounded, the Duke continued :

"I hope what you have done since this vile action will in time satisfy the world how little part you had in it, and how much you detest the thing and the person. If this be not already done, noe time ought to be lost in doing it that if it be possible you may Redeem Your Reputation to which this Disorder has given no small Advantage. Till I know more, I have no more, to say, but that (few) accidents in the whole course of my Life have given me more disquiet then this hath done, being as I desire to have cause to continue.—Your Lordship's most affectionate father and most humble servant."<sup>2</sup>

This grave reproof crossed a letter from Lord Derby. It is a curious composition, the schoolboy script still shining with the powder, which, in his frantic impatience, the young lord had dashed over the paper. In their carelessness of grammar, punctuation, and construction the sentences, in a fine medley setting forth the crimes and high misdemeanours of the tutor, reveal the mental agitation of the writer.<sup>3</sup> Forbes, Lord Derby vows, did not only "take from him the good opinion of the English here, but also of the hostel." His lordship's own servants had consequently mutinied, and would do nothing for their master,

"without Forbes, his leave, the master of the Hostell not give soe much as fire for my own chamber, but, at last, with much intreates, Forbes gave them leave to give me

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 33589 f. 168. Ormonde to Forbes, 17th November 1673.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde to Lord Derby, Clarendon House, 17th November 1673.

<sup>3</sup> Add. MSS., 33589 f. 144. Lord Derby to Ormonde, Paris, 14th November 1673.

fire ; Forbes breake open my letters, breake the doors of my chamber, not to trouble your Grace with too long a letter ; he maintains still the title of a Governor, justifies his injuries he did to me, says that Mr Meritt hath made me a Cully (which is as good as to call me a fool)."

It is interesting to note that in Lord Derby's recital it is Meritt who figures as an angel of light. It was his noble championship of the young Earl's inexperience, his denunciations of the tutor's friends, whom he averred he caught using loaded dice in playing with Lord Derby, that had earned Meritt the hatred of the detected cheats. In fact, the whole letter is a striking exemplification of La Fontaine's fable of the Wolf and the Lamb. The sins of Meritt are imputed to Forbes ; while the latter's offences against his pupil follow a crescendo of turpitude until the climax is reached in the picture of the faithless governor stealing at dead of night to his charge's bedside, "carrying, *I thought*," said the young liar, "a sword in his hand," and evidently nursing "a very illdesigne in his hart" against the heir of the Stanleys.

"I hope," he concluded, "nay, I doubt not, but Your Grace will speedily take some care for your honour and mine, which, in my opinion, cannot be without some publick and remarkable punishment on Forbes, that I leave to you, once more I must repeat that never was cause more just than mine."

Ormonde's reply to this letter should at least have made its writer repent the "weakness" of his inventions.

"My lord," he wrote, "I wish with all my heart that I could persuade myself and the world that you had so much reason to proceed as you have done against Mr Forbes. So much I had rather hee had been found faulty in his duty than Your Lordship in Your Conduct. But I beseech you undeceive yourself, and do not think from all you have written to me, or if I would, could prevail with the World to believe that Mr Forbes had any designe to cheat, rob, or murder you, of all which I am sorry you gave opportunity to clear himselfe, in a foraigne

judicature to Your Lordship's reproach and further Inconvenience, if his continuing Respect towards you did not restraine him. It will not be a lesse difficult task you have undertaken to make Meritt pass for a Man of Honour and Virtue fitt for the Earl of Derby's conversation and kindnesse ; his life here is neither unknown nor forgotten, and very little Credit is given to the Miracle of his Conversion.

" By this post," the Duke continued, " Mulys of whom, as of all your friends, you are so mistrustful is recalled from giving you any further offence, and I shall be careful not to offend you any more by messenger or advices till you have a better Opinion of my Judgement and affection towards you and you (are) lesse enamoured, I hope, of that (which) seduced you to Ruine and dishonour. Your Lordship must pardon this last freedome and ought to ascribe it to the Great concernment I have of Your person and Family and the interest I once hoped to have in both as—Your Lordship's affectionate grandfather and most humble servant."<sup>1</sup>

Despite the Duke's permission, and anxious as he was to be quit of his troublesome mission, Muleys does not seem to have hurried back to England. Probably his devotion to Ossory made him reluctant to abandon the Earl's son-in-law to his unhappy inspirations at a moment when circumstances had "soe nettled (him), that he acts again like a man beside himself."<sup>2</sup>

This fresh ebullition of rage in Lord Derby was the outcome of the disasters now overtaking Meritt. That gentleman had at last met with his deserts. Under pain of hanging he had been condemned to nine years' banishment from France, to the payment of all charges connected with his trial and to a fine of 500 livres. Moreover, Forbes gleefully told Muleys that as a mark of ignominy, his would-be assassin was set upon the sellette, when he was judged, "a place where none but robbers and those who are broke on the wheel are set upon."<sup>3</sup> Nor did this severe

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 33589 f. 200. Ormonde to Lord Derby, Clarendon House, 18th December 1673.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, f. 203. Muleys to Ormonde, Paris, December 1673.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 205. Forbes to Muleys.

sentence appear excessive to the French judiciary, for not only did the magistrate, charged with the case, tell Forbes that he was fully entitled to take action for wrongful imprisonment against Lord Derby—a step the worthy governor refused to entertain—but it was clearly the Earl's relationship to the La Trémouilles that alone saved him from a public prosecution.<sup>1</sup> In the course of conversation with the Prince de Condé and the Duc d'Enghien, the chief magistrate of the city of Paris had urged the advisability of arresting Lord Derby and making him responsible for the disorder he had occasioned in Paris. For the moment, thanks to Condé's remembrance of "ye Family and their alliances," this danger was averted. But Muleys thought Lord Derby had cause to be alarmed, and heartily wished His Lordship would, "by a sudden remove," avoid all risks of fine and imprisonment.

Instead, however, of striving to be forgotten, Lord Derby, through his efforts to obtain the repeal of Meritt's sentence, was making himself more than ever conspicuous. Accompanied by "a paltry Irish fellow," who acted as interpreter, he voyaged down to St Germain to besiege the Minister, Monsieur de Pomponne, with entreaties. For a space, neither the Secretary nor Louis XIV. were propitious to his suit.<sup>2</sup> In fact, at his state dinner, the Grand Monarque held forth to an attentive circle on his dislike of Meritt's doing, as being "ways, wherein Disgrace and Detriment would fall upon that part of this nation, which serves as a Common School for Christendom."

Lord Derby, who cannot fairly be blamed for wishing to extricate Meritt from a predicament for which he himself was largely responsible, was not easily defeated. The "ladies of pleasure," whom he had commissioned to solicit the prisoner's grace, not proving so powerful at Court as he had imagined, he fell back on his French relations.<sup>3</sup> And, for once, the respectable method was the most efficacious. Charlotte de la Trémouille's grandson might

<sup>1</sup> Add. MSS., 33589 f. 207. Muleys to Ormonde, December 1673.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, f. 203. Muleys to Ormonde, December 1673.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, f. 207. December 1673.

be a degenerate scion of their illustrious house, but neither the Duc de Duras nor the Duc de Bouillon dreamt of repudiating a kinsman's claim on their interest. They made it their business to present their cousin to the King, who showed himself unexpectedly gracious. The cosmopolitan nobility of the seventeenth century discharged some of the functions of our latter-day Press. They were at once the critics and the chorus that no ruler of men does wisely to disregard. Louis XIV., always a remarkably astute advertiser, was fully alive to their value as the organisers of the only public opinion he recognised ; and since William Stanley, 9th Earl of Derby, pre-eminently belonged to that fraternity of the great whom the Roi Soleil delighted to honour, he came in for a share of the royal benevolence. Moreover, Louis may have felt that it was unwise to drive the young scapegrace to desperation. Lord Derby had declared "that he would sacrifice all that was dear to him in the world, to obtain his end, and his actions showed that he really meant it." Apart from racial solidarity it was probably that reason which had induced his ducal kinsmen to further his petition with the Sovereign. Nor were their prayers vain. Lord Derby, to put it mildly, had behaved like a fool. But fools of seventeen have frequently redeemed juvenile indiscretions, and become useful members of society. Charity and common-sense, no less than his peculiar maxims, pleaded the boy's cause with the King. The welfare of the "Common School of Christendom" might be safeguarded without wrecking a career so rich in potentialities as Lord Derby's. In short, Louis relented, granting a pardon to Meritt, who was forthwith set at liberty.

Muleys considered that the Earl showed a little too much joy on the prisoner's enlargement. Nevertheless, he hoped that his remonstrances would not be fruitless, for Lord Derby seemed to agree that having shown the world how "large his mind is in actions of generosity," he could now afford to oblige his English friends by complying with their wish, and dropping Meritt's acquaintance. Ormonde must, however, have found it difficult to credit

his ward's conversion when Muleys proceeded to inform him that the Earl ardently desired that the expenses of the suit against Meritt—amounting to £100—should fall upon Forbes. We may safely assume that Ormonde did not permit the luckless tutor to suffer in purse, as well as in person, for Lord Derby's vagaries; and, at any rate, his next step showed that he cherished no illusions regarding Derby. Forbes, having recovered from his wounds, returned to England. But, in his stead, arrived a governor who soon made it clear that he would stand no nonsense either from Lord Derby or Lord Derby's chosen associates. On this latter occasion the Duke was certainly happy in his choice. Colonel Thomas Fairfax, a younger son of the 1st Lord Fairfax, came of a stock who had not feared to run counter to kings, much less to idle sprigs of nobility. "A gallant, brave man, as all the Fairfaxes were," says Carte, "and roughly honest."<sup>1</sup> Honest, Thomas Fairfax undoubtedly was, and where roughness was a saving grace he could assume it. But he loved music, and coveted pretty fans to the full as much as any maccaroni of the land, whither he now carried Lord Derby. Long before they quitted Paris, however, he had brought his pupil to reason. Lord Derby "was restive at first; but the Colonel told him sharply that he was sent to govern him, and would govern him; that his Lordship must submit and should do it; so that the best method he had to take was to do it with decorum and good humour."

Here was a tutor who could not be tossed in a blanket, still less trepanned and half murdered like the "grave, sober, mild Forbes." The vicious and scandalous portion of the Earl's acquaintance was soon dismissed. Nor did any of the young ruffians dare to pick a quarrel with their former patron, since Fairfax had openly announced that, in these circumstances, instead of meeting a raw boy, "himself was their man and would give them satisfaction."<sup>2</sup> Even the arrogant Earl was forced to yield to

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 490.

the ascendancy of a man equally well-born, and infinitely more forcible than himself. It is instructive to note that henceforward he was "very observant of his Governor," and brought no further disgrace on the party during their slow progress down the Loire and through the south of France to Italy. "He was reclaimed," Carte emphatically tells us; though, after reading Fairfax and Ossory's correspondence, it seems doubtful whether he developed into a pleasant companion or a kind husband.

The truth is that Ormonde had poor material to mould into the semblance of rectitude and dignity in Derby's case, though the Duke's kindness to the young man was not wholly fruitless. Perhaps Ormonde would have been more successful if the youth had come under his care at an earlier age. As it was, the boy must have been father to the man, if the good-natured Ossory could speak of his son-in-law's character as "very nasty."<sup>1</sup> At least, however, he brought no open shame on his honoured name, and he was never wanting in respect and gratitude to the man who had brought him and his estates through a period of storm and stress. His chief mode of showing gratitude took the form of catering for Ormonde in the matter of the falcons, so beloved by the Duke. This was little enough; but he did it with evident satisfaction and heartiness, and it was a sign of grace in an ungracious nature. Nor is it perhaps the least tribute to the Duke's sterling qualities that he could instil so wholehearted an admiration of himself and his ways into a young man, who had drawn forth some of the severest reproofs that ever fell from Ormonde's lenient pen.

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 80. Ossory to Ormonde, 31st May 1679.



*Photo, Hanfstaengl.*

JAMES, 1ST DUKE OF ORMONDE.

*From a picture at Hardwick.*

[To face p. 246 (vol. ii.).]



## CHAPTER VIII

### ORMONDE'S RETURN TO POWER

ALTHOUGH the Dutch War had been the work of the Cabal, it was fated to be the instrument of their downfall. Charles's need of money grew too pressing to allow him to withstand the Parliamentary opposition to the Declaration of Indulgence, which may be described as the net outcome of that policy. In fact, the situation became so menacing that Louis XIV. himself advised the King to withdraw the obnoxious proclamation until he should be free to come to his assistance. Louis's counsel was followed. On the 7th of March, 1673, Parliament learnt that the Declaration was revoked, and London promptly illuminated to celebrate the triumph of Protestantism.<sup>1</sup> Then followed the stormy debates on the Test Act, to which the King likewise yielded his assent. The Duke of York resigned his command of the Fleet, and the Catholic Lord Clifford gave proof of religious sincerity by retiring into private life. A reshuffling of the Ministry ensued. Arlington remained in office; but he was soon obliged to exchange his Secretaryship of State for the post of Lord Chamberlain. In June, his rival, Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards Lord Danby, an orthodox Churchman, became Lord Treasurer, while old-fashioned loyalists throughout the country were gratified by the re-admission of Ormonde, their representative "good Protestant and Englishman," to the Cabinet Council.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lodge, "Political History of England," pp. 116-20.

<sup>2</sup> Williamson Papers, vol. i. p. 61. Robert Good to Sir J. Williamson, 23rd June 1673.

These changes were followed by others even more momentous. In November Shaftesbury was dismissed from office, and his disgrace was followed by that of the Duke's most bitter opponent, George Villiers. In January 1674 Buckingham found himself the object of a simultaneous attack in both Houses. In the House of Lords he was arraigned for his scandalous relations with the Countess of Shrewsbury by young Lord Shrewsbury's trustees, who found a supporter in Ormonde. In the House of Commons, Buckingham was called to account for the alliance with France abroad, and the promotion of Popery at home; and his attempt to clear himself at Arlington's expense proved a complete failure. He did not satisfy his critics in the Commons, and he profoundly angered the King. Charles considered that he had betrayed State secrets, and George Villiers was driven from office and obliged, under penalty of £10,000, to renounce any intercourse with Lady Shrewsbury.

In these altered circumstances, the outer world may well have thought that the Duke of Ormonde had regained his Sovereign's confidence; but Ormonde was only too well aware that this was not the case. The attitude of the courtiers was a truer index to the royal sentiments. As the Lord Steward, the King's oldest and most devoted servant, walked, staff in hand, down the great gallery at Whitehall, he found himself splendidly isolated, assiduously slighted and shunned. In these circumstances, it was natural that he should aspire to a return to his own domains, and this project was facilitated by the change that had now taken place in the Irish Government. In 1672 Lord Berkeley of Stratton, who was overtly inimical to Ormonde, had been succeeded by the Earl of Essex. On public grounds alone the change of governors was bound to be welcome to Ormonde, and he made no secret of his gratification. Sir William Temple told Essex that Ormonde said that he did not think the King had a better servant than Essex, and that for his own part he would serve the Lord-Lieutenant in Ireland, or anywhere else, that was

in his power.<sup>1</sup> He knew Essex, he continued, for "a man of justice and honour, and 'twas for that reason there had been heaving at the Viceroy." No one, perhaps, was more fitted to appreciate the trials of a governor than Ormonde, and he did not stint his sympathy with Essex in the siege perilous. On his part, though he was not devoid of jealousy of his great predecessor, Essex approached Ormonde's personal affairs in the same spirit of honesty that he sought to introduce throughout the administration. He seemed, indeed, to strive to justify Ormonde's belief that his own concerns could never be safer than in Essex's hands.

Such being the position of affairs throughout the realm, in June 1674 Ormonde indited his adieux to the Sovereign. A sense of dignity had kept him silent regarding his personal position, whilst he remained at Whitehall, and as long as the King was confronted with dangers at home and abroad, he would not withdraw himself from the centre of affairs; but since peace was now made with the Dutch, and Parliament was prorogued, he felt at liberty to gratify his inclinations and at the same time to unburden his mind.

"It is now six years since I came over last," he told Charles. "A great part of that time I have passed more uneasily than I made show of, or than I ever thought I should do in Your Majesty's Court and presence, having had many reasons to believe your favour was, at least, very much abated towards me. The circumstances were too many and too little pleasing to me to reckon them up, but they were such as seemed to evidence to the world that it was rather the remembrance of some old service I had endeavoured to do to the Crown, than anything else that preserved me from the utmost disgrace due to a faulty and insignificant person. How grievous soever this was to me," he concluded, "I have borne it with duty and more temper than I am naturally master of."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Essex Papers, vol. i. p. 119. Sir W. Temple to Earl of Essex, 10th September 1673.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 491. Ormonde to Charles II.

It was the beginning of June when Ormonde and his family left Clarendon House. The hope of preventing the now annual visitation of gout delayed him for a fortnight at Bath. Thenceforward his journey was of the shortest, and twenty-four hours after setting sail, he was at anchor in Waterford Harbour. Indeed, he was so satisfied with his voyage, that his first thought on arriving at Kilkenny, was to order punctual payment to the shipping master. That his second thought should have been for his favourite sport of hawking shows that the gout had as yet little affected his energies. With all his old eagerness, he instructed the comptroller to seek out a certain Robin Squire, and "make trial once again" whether this expert might not be lured over on the former terms to Kilkenny with hawks and hounds.<sup>1</sup> Failing Robin himself, that worthy was to send a good falcon and assistant. "They will," said Ormonde, "have more work than in England, but live at less charge."

Never at any period, however, had hunting and hawking wholly engrossed the Duke's attention. He had not been a week at Kilkenny before, to use his own words, he paid Essex the respect due to His Excellency's place and person by reporting his arrival in Ireland, where, he courteously remarked, "the Government is now placed as the Writer could wish it, which for a long time he has been unable to say."<sup>2</sup> The evident sincerity of this letter should have paved the way for Ormonde's cordial reception at the Castle; but, with all his virtues, Essex owned an uneasy temper. Perhaps the throngs of enthusiastic gentlefolk who flocked from far and near to Kilkenny—the company at dinner in those early days, seldom averaging less than two hundred guests—ruffled the Viceroy's susceptibilities. Perhaps some of the gossiping correspondents, who so frequently excited his facile wrath, had suggested an ulterior motive for Ormonde's return to his native land. Whatever the

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccix. f. 131. Ormonde to Mr Clarke, Kilkenny, 16th July 1674.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. I. f. 31. Ormonde to Essex, Kilkenny, 6th July 1674.

cause, the Lord-Lieutenant, undoubtedly, accorded but a frigid welcome to Ormonde. To the Duke's warm-hearted countrymen this ungenial attitude appeared almost in the light of an outrage, and they took a characteristic revenge by crediting the neat-spoken Ormonde with the remark that the "Lord Lieutenant had received him according to his breeding and understanding."<sup>1</sup> The Duke himself, however, declined either to father the speech, or to comment adversely on Essex's behaviour, having consistently practised the apostolic injunction not to speak evil of dignities—that is to say, when those dignities represented the King of his allegiance. Moreover, on this occasion, the Duke very wisely referred any lack of courtesy in Essex's behaviour to the Earl's fear of offending his enemies in the ministry; and, with the same good sense, Ormonde did not linger unduly in Dublin. Having seen his friends, and called upon all the ladies of his acquaintance, at the end of a few days he returned to Kilkenny; and here he remained, busied with his many industrial schemes, entertaining his neighbours, and following the chase during a winter which certainly counted as one of the most peaceful of his life. Nevertheless, even this brief interlude was not unclouded with sorrow. In December he heard that Lord Clarendon had died at Rouen. It was eight years since he had parted from the Chancellor, but the news must have revived in Ormonde all the bitterness he had felt over that great man's eclipse and fall. For after remarking on the grief that his death, and the fact that "he should not be laid in his own country's earth," must cause his friends, Ormonde concluded by saying that if he was dead he—Ormonde—trusted that "he is gone to a kingdom where no act of Parliament can touch him."

Although the Duke of Ormonde had withdrawn himself, for the moment, from active participation in current politics, Ossory did not allow him to be ignorant of the trend of public affairs,<sup>2</sup> his communications with his

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 492.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, MSS., vol. I. f. 197. Ormonde to Lord Burlington, December 1674.

father being the more interesting, since, at this period, the sailor earl was engaged in one of the most important negotiations then pending. England being now at peace with the States, Charles was desirous to reassure nervous Protestants at home by promoting a marriage between William of Orange and Lady Mary, the Duke of York's eldest daughter. Both the King and Danby were, however, almost equally anxious to prevent any rumour of their intentions getting abroad, and they would have been sorely puzzled to find an envoy, whose despatch to Holland would not excite comment, if Ossory's connection with the Nassaus had not provided a plausible excuse for his journey to the Hague. The discussion of the preliminaries for this matrimonial alliance was therefore entrusted to Ossory and his brother-in-law, Arlington, who in November 1674 crossed to Holland.

From the first, the Duke of York was disinclined to the marriage, but he could not resist Charles's arguments in its favour, and on parting with Ossory assured him that he would rather trust his nearest concerns to him than to any man living.<sup>1</sup> These flattering assurances from a prince not given to pretty speeches must have made the eventual failure of the negotiations doubly disappointing to the young ambassador. That they should have failed at this particular juncture was, however, not surprising. William was still sore at the treatment he had received in the immediate past from his English uncles, and although England had now withdrawn from the struggle, he considered that Charles still showed undue partiality for his former ally, by giving the French facilities for levies in England which he denied to the Dutch. William urged that if Louis's English auxiliaries were not recalled, the States should at least have permission to recruit in England. Nevertheless, if William received Charles's proposition coldly, he was cordiality itself to his uncle's representative. In fact, he made the same offers—though necessarily on a more modest scale—to the young Earl, which Louis XIV. had already done. If Ossory could

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 454.

obtain permission to come over, William promised to put him in command of all British subjects serving in the State's army; the Prince further engaging his word that Ossory should have no cause to complain of his appointments. The flattering nature of these proposals was not lost on Ossory, and from his letter to his father it is evident that he felt the Prince's offers even more tempting than the more munificent ones of Louis XIV. When the two envoys left Holland, William gave another and a striking proof of his liking for Ossory. After escorting the Earl to his ship, and there bidding him farewell, he returned to shore.<sup>1</sup> But the next morning, when he noticed that the English vessel had made no way during the night, he re-embarked in a long boat and insisted on sailing alongside of his new friend until the latter gained the open sea. In a Prince so habitually careless of the minor graces of social intercourse as William of Orange, such conduct was equally unusual and complimentary, and Charles must have felt that the miscarriage of the negotiations could not be ascribed to Ossory. James, however, did not show the same affability to Ossory on his return as he had manifested at his departure.

The Duke of York took it into his head that Ossory had made a formal proffer of Mary's hand to William, and that the latter had rejected this signal honour—a state of affairs which both as a parent and a Prince filled him with fury. He received Ossory as if, by his participation in the negotiation, "all the merit of the family were to be buried."<sup>2</sup> Eventually, examination of the King's commission, which the Duke had not previously seen, and a more careful perusal of William's letter, which proved that Ossory had not exceeded his powers, and, indeed, had done the very reverse of what James imagined, mitigated his wrath. The Duke climbed down, and Ossory was able to report to Ormonde that "his carriage since to me is very fair and open."<sup>3</sup> But no

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 495.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lixix. p. 73. Southwell's Memorandum.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 497.

young ambassador likes to be accused of "having shown too much haste" in his first serious bit of work; and it must have been a bitter ending to an episode previously so pleasant. Nevertheless, if Ossory's essay in diplomacy must rank as a failure, his journey to Holland was not without important results. On the negotiations being again resumed, William showed that his friendship for Ossory was not a passing fancy. When Bentinck came to England in 1677 to settle the most momentous marriage of the century, it was from the Duke of Ormonde and Ossory that by William's express orders he sought counsel and guidance; and thus, in the fulness of time, Ossory's visit to Holland brought forth good fruit for England and for Europe.

The dismissal of Buckingham and Shaftesbury from his councils had not brought an increase of peace to Charles; in fact, the opposition was immensely strengthened by the accession of the two most brilliant speakers of the day. And Charles, burdened as he was by unavowable treaties with Louis XIV., and by the notorious tenets of his unpopular heir, had no little cause to dread the prospect confronting him. In these circumstances, the King bethought himself of invoking assistance he had spurned in more prosperous days. Parliament met in April 1675, and Coventry was desired to summon Ormonde to London — the King, in his anxiety, despatching a frigate to fetch the Duke over from Waterford.

Nevertheless, on his arrival in England Ormonde found that no very warm welcome awaited him. It is true that he had been recalled; but a supporter of his undoubted loyalty could be ignored until his services were actually required. Kilkenny with its round of useful, happy occupations must have seemed far preferable to Whitehall, and he must have regretted his absence from home the more that important business was meanwhile demanding his return thither. Had Charles, therefore, not imperatively required his assistance in Irish affairs, the Duke would have crossed the Channel once more in August. Nor after so long and systematic an exclusion

from public affairs was he anxious to accept the royal invitation. But as usual his sense of duty triumphed over his personal wishes and convenience. He cancelled all the arrangements he had made for returning to Kilkenny, and obediently betook himself to the consideration of the proposed changes in the establishment and the collection of the revenue of Ireland.

All the world over few subjects are more thorny than that of finance. But, in Irish Finance, the pitfalls were multiplied seventyfold ; and scarcely had the discussion been initiated before Ormonde found himself embarked afresh on a sea of trouble.

Richard Jones, Lord Ranelagh, a grandson of the 1st Earl of Cork, like his uncle, Lord Orrery, had commenced his career by professing an ardent devotion to Ormonde. At that time the Duke's approval was the easiest channel to promotion, while Ormonde could not be blamed for the patronage of a young man who had inherited the wits of his mother's remarkably intelligent family. He did not grudge his protection to Richard Jones ; and the latter succeeded Sir Robert Meredith as Chancellor of the Exchequer, received an increase of salary, and was made Privy Councillor. It is no libel on Ranelagh to say that his gratitude consisted of a lively sense of favours to come. He was still protesting his undying affection for Ormonde in 1668, when the latter left Ireland, and in these protestations he persisted just as long as the Duke's friendship continued to be profitable. After 1670 such a prospect appeared remote. George Villiers consequently became the god of Ranelagh's idolatry, and the cult did not prove unremunerative. On the understanding that they would defray all the expenses of the civil and military lists in Ireland, Ranelagh and a company of his framing were admitted to farm the revenues. Lord Ranelagh's "Undertaking," as this contract was termed, was founded on estimates, which—at that period—it was always possible for those who had the ear of the right people at Court, to get accepted.<sup>1</sup> In this schedule, the

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 502.

Revenues of the Crown were carefully depreciated, while its expenditure and charges were equally magnified. The system is scarcely novel. Anterior to the Pharaohs, in all human probability, it will outlast the British Constitution ; and in skilful hands it becomes a magnificent means of moneymaking. Naturally, however, it leads to recrimination from the victims. Before long, the King, who thought he had purchased relief from the eternal murmurs over wages due and pensioners unpaid, found he was rather more than less annoyed by petitions and complaints. Bad as had been the previous state of the army, it was now infinitely worse. The Revenue was yet more hopelessly loaded with debt. The people, generally, were so oppressed that they preferred to pay the tax-gatherers' unjust demands to debating the matter with these inquisitive gentry. Some humble folk, in fact, found it cheaper to pay twice over "than to go from their plough to the Exchequer, to procure discharges, which could not be had but by difficult and expensive searches."<sup>1</sup> In the case of his own tenants, Ormonde made it his business to champion their cause, and he was not unsuccessful, for when the tax-gatherers found that their accounts would not pass unchallenged they meekly accepted £657 in lieu of the £13,000 they had first claimed. Such were the methods of the " Undertaking." Indeed, although Ormonde pleaded guilty to "his own understanding lying very crass to such affairs," he was justified in the further remark that "there needed little skill in arithmetic, or in astronomy, to discover that the King is in a fair way of being cheated."<sup>2</sup>

Despite the liberty Lord Ranelagh enjoyed in the manner of exaction, in 1675 he declared himself so much out of pocket on the bargain that he petitioned the English Privy Council to let him off paying £114,041 due to the Exchequer. Ormonde instantly seized the opportunity of challenging the entire system ; and his knowledge

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 574. Ormonde's answer to Lord Ranelagh's Paper.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxx. f. 419. Ormonde to Southwell, 22nd January 1672-3.

of the subject enabled him to show that if this request was granted, Ranelagh would still remain in the King's debt for £98,222. An animated debate ensued. Ranelagh took refuge in the well-worn assertion that Irish finances had been grossly mismanaged during the Duke's administration. But he was hard put to it when driven to show that this mismanagement was due to Ormonde's prodigality in the matter of warrants to private individuals, *i.e.*, in preferring the claims of the latter to the public necessities. To prepare the statistics to prove his allegation, Ranelagh devoted no less than three months; and when he did produce the said statistics, hostile as the Privy Council was to Ormonde, they could only acquit the Duke. From the multitudinous papers on this vexed question it is, indeed, abundantly clear that Ormonde never issued private warrants on his own authority. All such orders were "by positive direction from His Majesty under the Royal signature."<sup>1</sup> In fact, had Ormonde wished to do so, he could scarcely have acted otherwise, since the Lord-Lieutenant's money orders were invalid, unless countersigned by various finance officers. One small fund alone was at his disposal, but even this was subject to the same rule; while if he or his officers had ventured to overdraw, the excess was bound to be deducted from their salaries. This should in itself have safeguarded Ormonde from all blame. But, further, he had never transmitted warrants to the Treasury officials, without reminding them that even the King's cheque, so to speak, must not be honoured unless provision had already been made for the civil and military establishments. It would be a very ill-regulated administration in which officials were not responsible for the routine operations of their department. In the peculiar condition of Ireland at the Restoration, chaos must have ensued if Ormonde, instead of devoting his energies to keeping the kingdom at peace, re-organising the administration and adjusting the land question, had turned himself into a head clerk. Undoubtedly, a general supervision of the

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 512.

Revenue and its mode of operation was part of the duties of a Lord-Lieutenant. But there is ample evidence that Ormonde had grudged neither time nor care to this task. Moreover, as a Commission, avowedly inimical to Ormonde, had already examined the financial system of his Government, and discharged the Irish Treasury of blame, the question was really prejudged. As his wishes for an enquiry show, Ormonde was, however, thankful to put on record his conduct in this matter.<sup>1</sup> Not content, in fact, with drawing up a vindication of his policy for the instruction of the Privy Council, he also indited a letter to Charles himself. In this latter paper, he conclusively disposed not only of his enemies' formal charges, but also of their insinuations—a species of attack often more difficult to meet.<sup>2</sup> After this latter fashion they had been wont to argue that a man negligent of his own affairs will be equally so of his master's, to which the Duke had every reason to retort that a man's neglect of his own fortune was frequently the direct consequence of his absorption in the affairs of State.

"And," he continued, in a sentence which, however measured, should have brought a blush to his royal correspondent's cheek, "I shall freely acknowledge that I employed most of my thoughts and endeavours upon establishing Your Government, newly restored, and upon securing the peace of your Kingdom by bringing Your subjects there from the highest animosities, that a bloody war and the difference of religion and civile interest could produce, to yield equal obedience to the Government and to the distribution which the acts of settlement and explanation had regulated; which was a harder task than any of my successors had, or, I hope, ever will have. Not but that I believe they might have brought the like affections and greater abilities to have done it; but they have wanted, and I wish they may never have occasion to manifest them on the like account."

Only one verdict was possible. On May the 12th, the

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 507-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. v. pp. 124-35. Memoir of Ormonde touching his comportment in the King's service.

King solemnly declared that he did not cherish the least dissatisfaction regarding Ormonde's administration. The "bare and dry acquittal of His Grace,"<sup>1</sup> however, told its own tale, though it was counterbalanced by the remarkable fact that Ranelagh was never invited to explain his boast of having increased and improved the Irish Revenue; and being well aware that this would be no easy task to accomplish, he was too intelligent to court the consequences of exposure. The whole controversy was then allowed to drop, Ranelagh electing to throw himself on the Sovereign's grace and favour. It was a wise decision. Charles, who had evidently not forgotten Ranelagh's zeal in replenishing the Privy purse, showed himself "not only willing, but desirous to pardon all breaches" of the contract. Moreover, when Ormonde was again appointed to the Viceroyalty, Charles begged him to be reconciled to his traducer—a request to which Ormonde acceded. In such matters, even if any savour of personal animosity had not been repugnant to his nature, the King's wish was law to James Butler, and in this particular instance, having amply demonstrated the falsity of Ranelagh's accusations, he could well afford to be generous. Yet, for all his magnanimity, he did stipulate that at the examination of the "Undertakers'" accounts, not only Lord Ranelagh, but that nobleman's prime allies, the Lord-Chancellor and the Vice-Treasurer, should also be present. Thanks to this precaution, Ormonde hoped to avoid any imputation of being actuated by resentment in the line of conduct he might eventually embrace.

But although Ormonde was incapable of abusing his authority, he was nevertheless too conscientious to allow Quixotic scruples to interfere with a plain duty. During his Government, the "Undertakers" were repeatedly summoned to hand in their reckonings. For since it was impossible to call Parliament and ask for supplies while the relative positions of Crown and Revenue Finances remained unadjusted, the business of the State suffered grievously

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 519.

from their delays. It must, however, be confessed that Ormonde's summons was as infructuous as, according to Hotspur, were Glendower's conjurations.<sup>1</sup> Ranelagh possessed all the arts of a cuttlefish. A master of arithmetical ambiguities, he contrived—in the teeth of the Attorney-General's warrants—to postpone the examination of the ledgers until 1681. Indeed, they were not thoroughly elucidated before 1682-3, when it transpired that the "Undertakers" owed the Monarch £76,000. But Charles was determined that they should not suffer for their bargain, and in 1684 he gave Ranelagh and his colleagues a full release from all possible pains and penalties.

For a time after Ormonde's barren victory, the relations between the Duke and his Sovereign remained cold and distant; but the signs of the coming political tempest were not entirely lost either on Charles or the Duke of York. Ormonde's unalterable loyalty was again becoming a valuable asset to the Stuarts; though it was the attempt of the Opposition to instal Monmouth as Lord-Lieutenant that ultimately turned the scale in Ormonde's favour. The mere prospect of such a contingency scared the Duke of York into vigorous action. He made it a matter of supplication to Charles to bestow the post on Ormonde; and the King's curious fidelity to his unloved heir once more triumphed over the father's affection for his Absalom.

A whole twelvemonth had now elapsed since Charles had deigned to speak to Ormonde, when, in April 1677, the King suddenly announced that he would sup with the Duke. The entertainment, which was as magnificent as the Duchess could make it, passed off merrily. Charles made no allusion to the late estrangement, while his host sought no explanation. Ere the banquet was concluded, however, the mystery of the Monarch's renewed affability was made manifest, Charles briefly informing Ormonde that he intended once again to entrust him with the Government of Ireland. To his intimates the Sovereign was more explicit. On the following day, as the Duke

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 521.

was seen approaching, "to pay his usual duty," Charles remarked :

"Yonder comes Ormonde; I have done all I can to disoblige that man and to make him as discontented as others; but he will not be out of humour with me; he will be loyal in spite of my teeth; I must even take him in again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland."<sup>1</sup>

Essex's farewell to power became him no less than its exercise during his tenure of office. Ormonde was particularly desirous that the time and manner of Lord Essex's departure should be regulated by his wishes and convenience, and on his side, Essex thoroughly reciprocated Ormonde's courtesy. He was aware that early in the year, Ormonde had defended his conduct at the English Council Board, and he had then warmly acknowledged his obligations for "ye good character" His Grace was pleased to give him.

"I do confess," the poor man added, in words that must have found an echo in Ormonde's heart, "ye work that I have to do here is made so laborious as I think t'would almost tire out any man, and that which is most strange to me is whilst I only endeavour to bring those persons" (Ranelagh and his gang) "who are accountable to His Majesty to a just and true account, discouragements should be put upon me therein."<sup>2</sup>

It was probably the recollection of Ormonde's good offices on this occasion that prevented Essex from giving heed to the mischief-makers, who did their best to wreck the honourable understanding between the two statesmen.<sup>3</sup> Ormonde himself evidently dreaded that they would embroil him with a man he esteemed; for, on the chance of slanders reaching Essex's ears, he wrote to say that he relied on the Earl's sense of justice to give him credit for remaining in the present, as in the past, "His Grace's most faithful, humble servant." In reply, Essex admitted

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 522.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxviii. f. 380. Essex to Ormonde, Dublin, 6th March 1676-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. iv. f. 21. Ormonde to Essex, 20th April 1677.

that efforts were made to persuade him that the Duke's profession of friendship "were not of that reality, as might be expected from a person of his birth and quality."<sup>1</sup> And he showed his contempt for these insinuations by arranging personally to hand over the sword to his successor. Had Lord Conway, as rumour at one time declared, been the Governor elect, Essex confessed that he would have left the Lords Justices to effect the transference of authority to that nobleman. But the King having bestowed the post on a person of Ormonde's loyalty and experience, Essex wished to pay him this final compliment. He was as good as his word. When Ormonde landed in Dublin in August 1677, the fashion of his reception was as splendid as Essex could well devise; and thus the back-biters found that, for once, they had brought their wares to the wrong market.

Ormonde's first act of importance in Ireland, must have given him unalloyed satisfaction, for shortly after his arrival, he laid the foundation of the Military Hospital at Kilmainham, which still retains many relics of its associations with Ormonde. A less pleasurable task was, however, awaiting the Duke. During his first tenure of office, Ormonde's attention had necessarily been concentrated on the Civil War, then being waged throughout the kingdom. The readjustment of landed property had formed the main occupation of his second viceroyalty. In 1677, the chief problem confronting him was undoubtedly that of finance. To this task he was prepared to devote himself almost exclusively. He had hoped that Essex would have concluded the Ranelagh audit, but, as we have seen, these hopes were vain. The burden which an energetic predecessor, some years junior, declared "would almost tire a man out," was now to fall on shoulders that were beginning to be weighed down no less by age than care, though, with his usual cheerful courage, Ormonde undauntedly faced the prospect.

Painful personal experience had taught the Duke of

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxviii. f. 381. Essex to Ormonde, Dublin, 28th April 1677.

Ormonde that the bestowal of grants and pensions should be restricted by rules and regulations, the most meticulous that the wit of man could devise. During his previous Government, it had become so well known that he would not endorse improper mandates for payment to the Treasury, that applicants omitted to ask the Lord-Lieutenant's consent. They went straight to inferior officials, who were ready to strike bargains which it was impossible even to adumbrate to the Duke—thus, frequently, attaining their object.<sup>1</sup> These proceedings were now barred by a royal order, which further decreed that all pensions and gifts should be ratified, not only by the Lord-Lieutenant, but by the English Signet office. According to another rule, if the Treasury was unable to discharge the entire pension list, a proportionable abatement was imposed on every individual pension. Henceforward, every pensioner found it to his interest to oppose the extension of grants; and Ormonde gained the support of public opinion in a battle which, hitherto, he had fought single-handed.

Beneficial as were these new regulations, they were only the outworks of the citadel that Ormonde had sworn to carry. "Infinite diligence," however, enabled him to make himself conversant with the true state of the Revenue, the duties and business of each individual functionary, and, having mastered these primary facts, he promptly told the Revenue Farmers that their rent must be raised.<sup>2</sup> The justice of his verdict was proved by their instant agreement to pay the King a large increase on their original contract. It is true that it took three years before the national balance showed a surplus.<sup>3</sup> But when we consider how limited was the scope of taxation in Ireland, and how hampered Ormonde was on his accession to office by past corruption and misrule, it seems little short of a miracle that he was not eternally confronted with a deficit. Eventually, this thrice blessed surplus was applied to increasing the infantry from 6,400 to 9,120 men, while another sum of £36,000, devoted to safeguarding

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 532-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 537.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 538.

the coasts and merchantmen, showed that Ormonde had not forgotten Strafford's early lessons in administration. Indeed, the sole fault to be found in Ormonde's budget was the allocation of £44,000 towards the expenses of Tangier—a matter foreign to Irish interests. But a sop to the Sovereign was probably necessary, if Ireland was to retain any control of her finances. Ormonde had no fear of meeting an Irish Parliament. In fact, he urged the advisability of calling one together, being convinced that the legislation he projected would meet with a generous response in the shape of subsidies. He was probably right, for the Act of Grace he designed, remitting not merely offences, but all debts—dating from a certain specified period—owing to the Crown, was naturally much coveted by a population constantly harried by tax-collectors. Another bill, confirming the Court of Claims and terminating all attempts to interfere with property, was also necessary if a sense of stability was ever to be engrafted into Irish land tenure. These acts Ormonde was prepared vigorously to further.

The Lord-Lieutenant also proposed to substitute a duty on spirits and liquors for the chimney tax, which had long been productive of misery.<sup>1</sup> This latter impost had cut both ways. If the Irish peasant built a chimney to his wretched cabin, he was assessed at 2s. If he left the smoke to find its own egress, he was mulcted of 4s., his poor rags, his one and only iron cooking-pot being seized in default of payment.<sup>2</sup>

The disproportion between this duty and the value of the cabin is revealed in Sir William Petty's statistics. He calculates that the average peasants' dwelling, chimney and all, represented one man's work for three or four days. Skilled labour was quite superfluous. "Almost every one," said Petty, could achieve such a shelter. In truth, the standard of living of the population entrusted to Ormonde was not much higher than that of the Congo African of to-day. Despite its great plenty, the Irish peasant

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 539.

<sup>2</sup> Sir W. Petty, "Anatomy of Ireland," p. 56.

seldom tasted meat. Already, potatoes formed his staple diet—potatoes with milk, sweet and sour, thick and thin. Eggs, too, he had, while butter, made very rancid by burying it in the bogs—an unscientific anticipation perhaps of Yeovil cheese—was his chief delicacy. On the coast, this fare was varied by mussels, cockles, and oysters. In one respect the Irish native was better off than his French contemporary of the same class. Although no mutton figured on his dinner-table, the wool of his sheep, woven and dyed by his womankind, furnished warm and beautifully tinted garments. A people of a more purely patriarchal mode of life could scarcely have been found in the era of Abraham. Their few wants were supplied by their own labour, and the labour of a race still mainly pastoral is seldom unduly strenuous. Such a state of affairs, seen from afar, would have excited the admiration of Jean Jacques and his school. A zealous administrator must, however, have desired something more of divine discontent in his charges. That Ormonde's lifelong wish was to awaken this spirit is evident—hence his ceaseless endeavours to create and promote all manner of trades and industries.

In these attempts, the Lord-Lieutenant was rather hindered than seconded by the priests and friars, who were the true oracles of the countryside.<sup>1</sup> The proportion of learned clergy amongst the 1,000 seculars and 2,500 regulars, who governed the consciences of 800,000 of their fellow countrymen, was small. Indeed, the priesthood could scarcely have exercised so tremendous an influence over the humbler portion of their flocks if they had been sundered from the standpoint of this primitive folk. The "bugbearing them with dreadful stories in their sermons, rather than persuading them with reason, or the Scriptures," which so scandalised Petty, was a lesser evil than the clerical obstruction of all that told for their parishioners' material gain. Nevertheless, priests and friars should have their due. Distasteful, and justly distasteful, as was the "bugbearing" to a thinking mind, it yet apparently

<sup>1</sup> Petty, p. 65.

instilled into the humblest of the Irishry an equanimity that the most cultured of Stoics might have envied. Otherwise, how account for the calm courage which enabled them to face death "if it be upon a tree?" a veneration for the emblem of their faith so intense, that in the very hour of death, consoled and fortified, they would creep on their knees towards the gallows, from the place where it first became visible.

On his return to Ireland in 1677, Ormonde described the population of the kingdom as divided into three classes—"the truly loyal and conforming, the Irish Roman Catholics, and the Nonconformists, who will be called Protestants."<sup>1</sup> We have seen what the mass of Irish Catholics were as regards body and mind. Though numerically superior to the other two, Ormonde judged they were the least to be feared, unless an invasion took place, in which case they would certainly join the invaders. Turbulent as were both the natives and the dissenters, Ormonde also thought that their mutual hatred was of assistance to the Government. Neither would dare to initiate a rising, lest the Administration "should make use of the other to suppress and chastise the first disturbers." Even amongst Protestant Nonconformists, some discrimination, however, had to be made. The Scots, said Ormonde,

"I take to be more hardy, more united in opinion, more compact in habitation and neighbourhood, more ready to abandon their wretched residences, and, for all these reasons, more apt to be inflamed and put into action by their vagabond teachers. The English are more set upon trade and improvements, not so unanimously bent one way, more scattered in the country, and will not so easily be persuaded to quit their much more commodious houses."

Thus the religious tenets of the Scottish settlers were still the main if not the only hindrance to their peaceable citizenship in the land of their adoption. And, undoubtedly, the vagabond teachers, to whom Ormonde referred, did much to keep alive the primitive fervour of their audiences.

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 85. Instructions to Earl of Arran.

For the most part these itinerant preachers were men driven out of Scotland by the persecution then directed against the uncompromising section of Presbyterians. In Ulster they found the Government more "tolerable" than in Galloway. Accordingly, they flocked across to Ireland, until the Irish Episcopate—who complained that "persuasion and example" were wasted on such fanatics—declared that they had "so increased, spread, and emboldened" in the last eight or nine years, that they now met publicly by thousands to receive the Communion after their own rites.<sup>1</sup> A certain number of Scots of "good quality," like their fathers before the Rebellion, also made a practice of crossing backwards and forwards to Ireland in the same day, merely to attend these unauthorised ministrations.

Since Jeremy Taylor invoked the aid of the secular arm, the ecclesiastical methods for dealing with these stubborn recusants had not greatly varied. But although Ormonde would probably have hesitated to endorse the magnificent doctrines of the "Liberty of Prophesying," he was, in practice far more tolerant than its saintly author.

"To endeavour," he wrote, "to reform so obstinate a multitude by putting the laws in execution against them on a sudden, after so long a time of indulgence, and to let these laws sleep in reference to the Roman Catholics (against whom they seem to have been specially provided) would produce great and unreasonable clamour, slack and ineffectual prosecution; and to execute them against both (if it should have no other worse effect) would soon fill all and more than all the prisons in Ireland, and would drive so many from their homes and from their labour that much of the kingdom would be laid waste, and His Majesty's Revenue would unavoidably sink in all the branches of it."<sup>2</sup>

Not that the Lord-Lieutenant had any intention of allowing Nonconformists to affront the Government, and contemn the law with impunity, still less would he suffer them to renew the Covenant and "exercise a jurisdiction

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 36. Ormonde to Sir H. Coventry, Dublin Castle, 4th September 1667.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.*

against law." But, while officially making no changes in their treatment, he proposed quietly to "connive" at the liberty they had acquired in the course of years. Lord Melbourne, himself, could scarcely have offered wiser or more appropriate counsel. Within a year from writing these lines a yet obscure naval chaplain, Titus Oates by name, was to give Ormonde the opportunity of proving whether these maxims were the outcome of opportunism or conviction.

Meanwhile, Ossory was leading neither idle nor inglorious days. In the beginning of June 1677, Bentinck came to England on his master's behalf to ask for the hand of the Lady Mary. As already related, he had been directed for guidance to Ossory and his father, and acting on their advice, he betook himself to the Lord-Chancellor, Lord Danby. The latter, alike the champion and the patron of the Church Party, was inclined to further an alliance which appeared to safeguard the Protestant succession ; and Charles, who wished to propitiate Parliament and achieve a Continental peace, was equally ready to give his blessing to the match. James still disliked the marriage. But his objections had eventually to yield to the joint arguments of the Sovereign and chief minister ; while William, whose campaign of 1677 had closed in disaster, was now a far more eager suitor than in 1674. He saw that this particular match, by detaching his uncles from Louis XIV., offered the best chance of saving his country. In the autumn, therefore, the Prince arrived in England, and on November the 4th were concluded the most momentous nuptials of the century.

Although Ossory had been of considerable assistance in helping Bentinck to an understanding with Danby, he did not remain in England throughout the negotiations. In July, having obtained leave to serve for the rest of the campaign with the Prince, he had crossed to Flanders where William gave him a cordial welcome, placing him in command of the English contingent during the siege of Mons, a command which was equivalent to the post of honour. William's operations were, however, un-

successful. Charleroi was relieved by Louis's famous strategist, the Duc de Luxembourg, without any fighting taking place to console Ossory for a forced retreat.

When William went to woo his bride, Ossory seems also to have returned to England.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, for some unexplained reasons, he was not present at the marriage ceremony, which was so great a satisfaction both to himself and his father. But the Prince did not forget his absent friend. Indeed, the letter he then wrote Ossory would surprise those who persist in representing William of Orange as a cold and heartless politician. It may be that gratitude was the passport to the reticent Prince's affections, and as he never forgot Bentinck's youthful devotion in nursing him through the smallpox, so the proofs of friendship received from Ossory, at a period when, as William drily remarked, "je n'étais pas ici à la mode," had made an indelible impression upon him.<sup>2</sup> It was clearly no idle speech when he assured Ossory "que de tous vos serviteurs il n'y en à pas un qui vous soit plus affectioné que moi et plus attaché à vos intérêts, et à tous ceux de votre famille."

In these circumstances, it was an equal satisfaction to William and Ossory when the Earl obtained Charles's permission to assume the command of the British subjects in the pay of the States. Ossory entered upon his new duties in February 1678, and, during the ensuing campaign, was able to gratify his passion for fighting. The chief engagement of the war took place at Mons on August the 4th, four days after the Dutch and French plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen had come to terms. Technically, William was reputed victor at Mons. But it was a barren and a bloody triumph. Ossory won the praise of friend and foe alike for his conduct during the battle. Led by him, the English division shared the honours of the day with the Prince's guards; and it was only the defection of two German regiments that forced the gallant little

<sup>1</sup> See Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 58. Ormonde to Ossory, 6th November 1677.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 63. Prince of Orange to Ossory, St James's, November 1677.

band to relinquish the second post they had carried. Even then, when he was forced to realise that his men could not maintain themselves in this position, against a force double their numbers, Ossory merely retired to the first trenches he had gained, which he held, despite all Luxembourg's efforts to dislodge him, until night parted the belligerents.<sup>1</sup> The slaughter in the English ranks was great, no single officer escaping injury. Ossory owed his life solely to the excellence of his breastplate and headpiece, which twice turned shots that might otherwise have been mortal. Earlier in the day, his reckless valour nearly cost him dear, for he was completely enveloped by the enemy, and was only cut out by the devotion of his brother-in-law and some thirty faithful followers.

For a Frenchman, Luxembourg was an unusually grim antagonist. But the next morning he made personal enquiries after Ossory, and on learning he was unhurt, remarked that "he was heartily glad of it, and the rather that the day before he had found him so brave an enemy."<sup>2</sup> Probably, so unusual a compliment from the "Tapissier de Nôtre-Dame"<sup>3</sup> was more grateful to Ossory than the laudatory epistles he received from the States and the Spanish Viceroy, or even the Most Catholic Monarch's autograph letter acknowledging his services; for, since death had removed Turenne, and Condé no longer took the field, Luxembourg was undeniably the foremost of Louis's Marshals.

On his return to England, Ossory was offered the command of a naval squadron, destined to bring the Algerine pirates to reason. But he hesitated to assume the responsibility for a force alike insufficient and ill-pointed, and, ultimately, Narborough sailed in his stead.

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. pp. 78-9. Earl of Longford to Ormonde, 16th August 1678.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 604.

<sup>3</sup> Luxembourg owed this nickname to the number of banners, captured from the enemy, which he had placed in Nôtre-Dame.

## CHAPTER IX

### ORMONDE AND THE POPISH PLOT

SEPTEMBER the 28th, 1678, is memorable as the day on which Oates and Tonge first revealed that mystery of iniquity, the Popish Plot, to the Privy Council. On October the 12th, Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, to whose care Oates had confided a copy of the original deposition, disappeared. Five days later his corpse was discovered in a ditch below Primrose Hill. His death was instantly attributed to a conspiracy of "Jesuited" Papists. During the next three years, and from that moment onwards, sanity may be said to have forsaken the English nation.

For our purpose, happily, it is not needful to recall in detail that confused turmoil of butchery and madness, false-swearers, and no less false counter-swearers, known as the Popish Plot. Throughout that terrible period, Ireland was probably the quietest part of the King's domains. This unwonted state of affairs was due, as is generally recognised, to the "sober government,"<sup>1</sup> of the Lord-Lieutenant. By temperament and principle, Ormonde was indisposed to credit a large portion of his countrymen with criminal designs; while long experience of the ulterior motives underlying such sensational stories as those served out by Oates to the credulous multitude, had further instilled a healthy scepticism into the veteran statesman. And the fact that he commanded the respect of both parties kept them, though unwillingly, from flying at each other's throats.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. Pollock, "The Popish Plot," p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. xxxviii. p. 476. King and Council to Ormonde, 30th September 1678.



act of grace on Ormonde's part, he had been permitted to creep home to die, and was now confined to his bed in Colonel Talbot's house at Luttrellstown. When committed to the Castle he was carried thither in a sedan chair with a servant in attendance. A conspiracy organised by a person in Talbot's condition could scarcely be formidable. Nevertheless, to prison he went, and in prison, eventually, he died.<sup>1</sup>

By October the 14th, Ormonde and the Irish Council had formulated a series of measures for the protection of Protestants. Officers and soldiers were ordered to repair to their respective garrisons, and all Jesuits and regular priests to quit the kingdom under six weeks.<sup>2</sup> Convents and seminaries were suppressed, and Romanists were enjoined to procure licenses for the retention of their fire-arms. The Lord-Lieutenant, also, did his utmost to revise and equip the now almost extinct militia. Remembering, moreover, that pillage and robbery had been contributory factors to the Rebellion of 1641, he took stringent measures to break up the gangs of Tories that still infested certain districts. Henceforward, until the death, submission, or capture of their outlaw kinsfolk had been effected, relations of Tories became liable to imprisonment; and in a parish where murder had been committed, failing the apprehension of the murderer or the receipt of information enabling his prosecution, the Popish priest could be either sent to prison, or transported beyond seas.<sup>3</sup>

These decrees can hardly be said to err on the side of leniency. Yet a large body of people, who, if they could have had their own way, would have hounded the Irish into revolution, denounced Ormonde's measures as grossly inadequate. Nothing short of the eviction of Papists from corporate towns, the indiscriminate seizure of their arms, and the apprehension of any Catholic who incurred their suspicion, would have satisfied these critics. When they found that Ormonde was not to be persuaded into

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 549.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 554.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, pp. 550-3.

adopting extreme courses they endeavoured to frighten him into them. They dropped letters in the streets, hinting at a plot for the assassination of the Lord-Lieutenant, even trumping up witnesses to swear to this design. They little knew their man.

"It seems," wrote Ormonde, "now to be the Papists' turn to endeavour to despatch me, the other Nonconformists have had theirs, and may have again, when they shall be inspired from the same place, for different reasons, to attempt the same thing. I know the danger I may be in is a perquisite of the place I am in, and so envied for being in. But I will not be frightened to a resignation, but will be found alive or dead in it, until the same hand that placed me shall remove me."<sup>1</sup>

Before long the hollowness of the supposed conspiracy was exposed, but Ormonde's imperturbability had not endeared him to his antagonists, and consequently he found himself in sad disgrace with the dominant faction in England.

The folly of the human heart, as we know on the best authority, is unfathomable. A long record of devotion to the Church of England could not outweigh suspicions artfully circulated against Ormonde by ill-wishers. The fact that he largely owed his appointment to the Vice-royalty to the Papist heir-presumptive, awakened doubts concerning the Lord-Lieutenant's orthodoxy amongst the bench of Bishops.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the reverend prelates took so little trouble to conceal their misgivings that the rumour of his apostasy reached Ormonde's own ears. He merely remarked "that whatever particular persons in their order might utter to his disadvantage, yet it should never hinder him from reverencing their function"—a reply, perhaps, beneficial, since shortly thereafter this slander died a natural death. During the Popish terror, however, the reality of the Duke's Protestantism was again questioned. Shaftesbury had always been a bitter opponent of

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. ii. pp. 282-3. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, 18th December 1768.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 526.

Ossory and Ossory's father. And never had either he or Buckingham been more potent for harm than at this juncture, since they could count on the thorough-going support of all those who desired a civil war in Ireland in order to make, or retrieve, their fortunes during the subsequent processes of attainder and confiscation. Nor was it difficult for this cabal to collect damaging material against Ormonde, so long as Orrery could give point and form to vague malevolence. For, half-crippled by illness though he was, Orrery was an antagonist no more despicable than the great Achitophel himself. In the act of blasting a reputation Orrery had few equals—his methods being as varied as his tales. His letters, said Ormonde,

"can take the figure of faithful advice from a sworn counsellor with as little pains as goes to the turning of a plot in the play (or) may rise up in the shape of a formal accusation. In short, something may be found there of the counsellor, of the friend, and of the accuser, and a great deal of the libeller."<sup>1</sup>

Naturally, Orrery did not confine himself to despatching so-called intelligence across the Channel. On investigation, every single alarming report was traced back to his Presidency. Thence it was dispersed throughout the kingdom, to the great disheartening of the English, and encouragement of the disaffected Irish, "than which," the Duke sensibly remarked, "I take nothing to be more dangerous, or lyke to draw what we apprehend upon us."<sup>2</sup> Besides fostering the blind panic, which had already "put the common sort of Englishman and Protestants out of their wits," Orrery also set himself to persuade or terrorise the Privy Council into active opposition to Ormonde's moderate policy. Hitherto, his insidious arts had been so completely successful that it was no little surprise to him when the Councillors refused to dance to his piping.

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxx. f. 476. Ormonde to Southwell, 30th November 1678.

<sup>2</sup> Forster MSS., vol. ii. p. 17. Ormonde to Southwell, Dublin, 6th November 1678.

In his mortification, indeed, on learning that the Council rejected his proposal to secure certain leading Papists, his habitual suavity deserted him, and he wrote to the Chancellor that, although he could obey Government, he "could only be convinced by reason." On his part, Ormonde was more nettled than a victorious party in a quarrel should be. He spoke quite indignantly of this letter as

"arrogant enough to come from an absent Councillor to the body of a Council unanimous in their sense, and yet more arrogant if he expected or called to them for reasons for their determination, to satisfie him."<sup>1</sup>

In comparison to Orrery's mischief-making, it was perhaps a small matter that meanwhile he continued to bombard the Lord-Lieutenant with despatches as prolix as his plays. But pin-pricks are not the least exasperating of life's trials, and the reading and replying to Orrery's epistolary folios evidently subjected Ormonde's easy temper and comfortable sense of humour to a considerable strain. If he left some of these effusions unanswered, he dared not adopt this drastic course in all cases. For, as he ruefully acknowledged, a certain proportion of Orrery's letters were of such a nature, that to say

"nothing of them, were to allow them to be unanswerable, and myself more faulty than I hope I ever shall be found, and I foresee those of that kind will give me more work than I am fond of."<sup>2</sup>

Before long the complaints thus fabricated for the English market, returned to Ireland in the shape of somewhat peremptory queries to the Lord-Lieutenant. Ormonde found that he was accused of allowing hosts of native Catholics to flock to Dublin, while he left that town practically unprotected, its sole powder-magazine a mile off, and perfunctorily guarded by a handful of soldiers.

<sup>1</sup> Forster MSS., vol. ii. p. 25. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, 2nd December 1678.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 27. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, 2nd December 1678.

To these charges Ormonde, in reply, suggested that the actual garrison, consisting of a regiment of infantry, a troop of horse, a company of artillery, and two thousand militiamen, ought to secure the safety of the Capital. The concourse of Irish Papists to Dublin was no greater now, he declared, than in the past. The powder-magazine he freely acknowledged was without the city walls, instead of, as heretofore, in a tower in Dublin Castle, but it had been removed thence by Lord Robartes, who objected to living in close proximity to explosives. And, although Ormonde sweetly remarked that he did not share his predecessor's prejudice on the subject, he could not well revert to the former practice, the said tower, "like most of His Majesty's forts," being open to wind and weather.

From any investigation bearing on the vigilance and integrity of his administration, Ormonde could only emerge with credit. Where his policy was impugned he ran a greater risk, since his critics were too often actuated by panic fear, or by personal motives of the most sordid kind. To the former, who insisted that every Romanist should hand over his arms to the nearest magistrate, Ormonde's proclamation, allowing their conditional retention, appeared criminally lax. No license, they argued, should enable a Papist to keep a fowling piece or a Court rapier, while they denounced the delay of twenty days allowed to procure the license as equally unjustifiable. Nor was it only the Lord-Lieutenant's caution and judgment these uncompromising Protestants challenged, but likewise his impartiality. During Blood's abortive rising in 1663, they asserted that he had treated the brethren in a very different fashion. Without warning uttered, good Englishmen and staunch Protestants had been summarily stripped of their weapons—a clear proof that Ormonde's tender mercies were reserved for would-be Papist murderers. Of course, Ormonde could, and did, reply that there was no similarity between the state of affairs in 1663 and 1678. In 1663 rebellion was not suspected—it was proved. Only at the eleventh hour, had the capture of the castle and the Lord-Lieutenant been averted. Whereas, in 1678, the alleged

conspiracy, on enquiry, resolved itself into idle or malicious chatter. Moreover, in 1663 the confiscation of arms was effected, not by means of an alien race professing a hostile religion, but Protestants had been disarmed by Protestants, Englishmen by Englishmen. So argued Ormonde, and his arguments would have been unanswerable had they not been addressed to men whom sheer terror made deaf to the voice of truth and sense. In course of time, however, cowards can be pacified. The covetous—as Ormonde was to experience—are more difficult to restrain. Remembering how largely Parsons's bloodthirsty proclamations and wholesale proscriptions had fostered the rebellion, these amiable people were incensed with Ormonde for refusing to seize the heads of septs, and the leading Roman Catholic noblemen; and, in revenge, Orrery and his followers did their utmost to misrepresent both Ormonde's motives and actions.

To recapitulate all the reproaches showered on the Duke's administration would be unbearably wearisome. As an instance of the candour and humanity of his detractors, it may suffice to mention that one of their chief items of complaint was the increase of Irish Papists in corporate towns.<sup>1</sup> An increase since 1660 there had undoubtedly been, but this was due partly to Ormonde's successors in the Viceroyalty, and partly to the Protestant citizens themselves. The inconvenience of doing without servants to wait on them, of tradesmen to supply their wants, of tenants to pay rent for their houses, had eventually triumphed over the religious bigotry of the Protestant householders. In the autumn of 1678 Ormonde decided to expel the "loose and useless sort" of Irish Papists from townships, though he refused to extend the measure. Independently of common justice, he was convinced, not only that the slowly reviving prosperity of these communities would be ruined if half the population was driven forth, but that the Protestants would be the first to grumble if they found themselves deprived of servants, tradesmen, and tenants. A very few months later he was amply

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 564.

justified. A great number of Catholics having been expelled from Galway, the drawbacks to their continued absence soon became so manifest, that the Protestant householders, not content with petitioning the Council for the exiles' return, actually offered bonds for their loyal deportment.<sup>1</sup>

The folly no less than the cruelty of the proposals made by the Protestant extremists was, however, best demonstrated by Ormonde himself in a letter to Sir Robert Southwell.<sup>2</sup> Being well aware that English politicians were generally ignorant of the fundamental differences between the two countries, he took care to remind his correspondent that the Penal Laws in England and Ireland were no more identical than the relative proportion of Catholics and Protestants. In England, with one Papist to a hundred Protestants, it was safe and easy to disarm recusants. In Ireland, with fifteen Papists to every Protestant, the process would scarcely be so simple or so rapid. If Romanists really harboured designs against the Government, could any sane person seriously propose simultaneously to empty all the garrisons, scattering the soldiery

"in loose files to be destroyed with clubs, stones, swords, or skeines?" Yet, said the practical administrator, "so, they must have been dispersed, for in a year they could not have searched all Papists' houses in complete troops or companies? Besides," he continued, "I am very well acquainted with the disorders soldiers are very apt to commit under the countenance of such commissions, how they have searched for pikes and muskets in desks, trunks or caskets of 2 or 3 feet long, and sometimes mistaken Protestants' money and other for Papists' arms. Nay, I have by complaint and proof found that where a Papist had a sword with a silver hilt, the officer would needs interpret the taking it away to be within the Proclamation, and inferior officers have taken away swords and restored them again for half a cob."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. cxlii. f. 201. Ormonde to Coventry, 17th July 1679.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. ii. pp. 294-5. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, 8th November 1679.

<sup>3</sup> A "cob," i.e. a small silver coin.

That individual Catholics might have arms secreted about their houses, Ormonde did not deny. But, where they were discovered, the Government "found the fruit, and they, the smart of this course," the administration, after due warning given, being in a position to punish disobedience with the utmost severity. The tales of vast stacks of warlike stores, hidden away by Irish landlords, deserved, however, no more credence than those reports of "thousands of Danish horses in cellars," current just before the outbreak of the Civil War.

"For," said the Duke, "I find it hard enough to keep arms fixed in stores and magazines, with all the care of officers that are appointed and paid for it; how then shall they be preserved under ground or walled up in our moist climate?"

Much, however, as Ormonde discountenanced arbitrary arrests, he could not refuse to execute the orders of the English Privy Council on that subject, though the fashion in which he reconciled obedience to authority with consideration for the accused, reflected equal credit on his courage and ingenuity. In November, he was instructed to apprehend the reputed leaders of the Irish rising, Colonel Richard Talbot, Lord Mountgarret, and his eldest son, Mr Richard Butler, and a certain Colonel John Peppard. Talbot, who happened to be paying Ormonde a visit when the order of his arrest arrived, was taken into custody in the gallery of the Castle, and despatched to prison, though more fortunate than his brother Peter, a doctor's order soon procured his liberation, and the future Duke of Tyrconnell was allowed to go and recruit his health in France. As to the suspected conspirators, a diligent search revealed Colonel Peppard to be a purely mythical personage, while of Lord Mountgarret, Ormonde wrote,

"he can be little less than eighty-three years of age, and has been for these six months past bedrid. Yet," said the Duke, "I take him in that state to be as fit a Lord

General as his son, who is as weak a young man in body and mind as I have known.”<sup>1</sup>

Of Lord Mountgarret’s condition, strange to say, even the English Privy Council seem to have had a glimmering, for they allowed Ormonde a certain latitude in dealing with this formidable ringleader. And Ormonde eagerly seized the opportunity given him to make things easy for the old man.<sup>2</sup> Not only did he determine—as he told his half-brother, Captain Mathew—“to let (Lord Mountgarret) alone till he shall be in a better condition, and that I fear will be for ever,” but he begged Mathew to prevent all rumours of the accusation and warrant coming to the ears of the invalid.

With regard to Richard Butler, the Duke found himself in somewhat of a dilemma. This “weak” young man had married a cousin of Ormonde’s, so that the Duke, over and above his natural courtesy for the sex, was particularly anxious to save Mrs Butler anxiety. Mathew was therefore despatched to reassure and console the lady, and not only to console but also, if need were, to make the Duke’s peace. For it is amusing to note that although Ormonde hoped that his unflattering character of Richard Butler might secure the latter from prosecution, he was not without misgivings that the good wife might resent this fashion of extricating her husband from his difficulties. Ormonde, therefore, instructed Mathew to take especial pains to allay Mrs Butler’s wrath if he found her in a resentful state of mind.

The fact that Ormonde’s family were mainly Catholics, did not, of course, improve his position with the extreme Protestants. He himself was well aware of the harm it did him, though with his usual serenity, he remarked that it was a disadvantage from which he could no more free himself than from his “natural infirmities.”

“My father and mother,” he wrote in a letter which deserves to be quoted, “lived and died Papists and bred

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. cv. Ormonde to Coventry, 12th November 1678.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. pp. 232-3. Ormonde to Captain Mathew, 12th November 1678.

their children so, and only I, by God's merciful Providence, was educated in the true Protestant religion, from which I never swerved towards either extreme, not when it was most dangerous to profess it, and most advantageous to quit it. I reflect not," Ormonde dryly remarked, "upon any who have held another course, but will charitably hope that though their changes happened to be always to the prosperous side, yet they were by the force of present conviction. Though this be a short one, yet it is a digression. My brothers and sisters, though they were not many, were very fruitful and very obstinate (they will call it constant) in their way. Their fruitfulness has spread into a large alliance and their obstinacy has made it altogether Popish. It would have been no small comfort to me if it had pleased God it had been otherwise, that I might have enlarged my industry to do them good and serve them, more effectually to them and more safely to myself. But, as it is, I am taught by Nature, and also by instruction that difference in opinion concerning religion dissolves not the obligations of nature; and in conformity to this principle, I own not only that I have done, but that I will do my relations of that, or any other persuasion, all the good I can.

"But I profess at the same time that if I find any of them that are nearest to me acting and conspiring rebellion, or against the Government and the religious establishment amongst us, I will endeavour to bring them to punishment sooner than the remotest stranger to my blood. I know professions of this nature are easily made, and therefore sometimes little credited. But I claim some belief from my known practice; for I have been so unfortunate as to have kinsmen in rebellion, and so fortunate as to see some of them fall when I commanded in chief. Those that remain I hope have changed their principles as to rebellion, if they have not, I am sure they will find I have not changed mine."<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, if, thanks to his determined attitude, Ormonde was hard put to it to steer an even keel, Ireland as yet remained a haven of peace in comparison to the sister country. In England, by the end of November, feeling ran so high that Oates was in a position to indict the

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. ii. p. 280. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, 30th November 1678.

Queen Consort of high treason at the bar of the House of Commons. The most alarming feature of this new move was that this amazing accusation was no mere ebullition of fanaticism. The voice was the voice of Titus, but the inspiration came from Anthony Ashley Cooper. It seemed natural to suppose that if the childless wife could be removed or divorced, and the King became free to marry again, the nation might hope for a legitimate Protestant successor to the Crown. For this reason Shaftesbury and his gang, not only supported Oates in a charge they must have known to be false, but rallied a majority of the House of Commons to their aid ; and not the least curious episode of that demented period was the vote passed by the second House, demanding the removal of the Queen and the Catholic members of her household from Court.

Happily for Catherine, Charles II. was no Henry VIII. He was well aware that despite his many infidelities his unhappy wife cherished a real passion for him ; and he was indignant that she should be accused of contriving his death. But it was becoming evident that it would tax his ingenuity to defend those of whose innocence he was best assured, and the debate in the House of Lords on this motion consequently aroused great excitement. Even had he not been the Queen's Chamberlain, Ossory must have been deeply interested in the issue, and, actually, he could only compare his feelings to his state of mind on the field of battle.

"I have been in actions of importance," he told his mother, "but have not been more troubled during their being in suspense than I was all yesterday, while we were debating whether the poor Queen should be so unfortunate as to have both Houses address to the King that he would remove her upon Oates's accusing her to have undertaken the poisoning of him. At length we carried it in the negative, 8 only having voted for concurring with the Commons. The King carried himself most worthily, showing a detestation of what some thought might be acceptable to him. On Thursday, when Her Majesty was in public, she showed not the least emotion ; but yesterday,

when she was in private, she ceased not weeping, bewailing her condition, and saying how much the Duke of York's misfortunes were short of hers, his sufferings being upon an honourable score, but her's upon what was the most infamous. I," said Ossory, "was the first that brought her the good news of our dissenting with the Commons, which you may imagine was no small consolation, she being all day uncertain whether Whitehall, Somerset House, or perhaps a restraint, might have been her destiny. It fell in my way to have been a little serviceable to her by carrying Oates to Somerset House, my lord of Bridgewater being commanded with me, in matter of fact, as to the house, we found him in a manifest lie, which will appear under our hands, the relations we made being in the Parliament House, a copy of which last post I sent to my Father. I have not been negligent," Ossory rather unnecessarily assures his mother, "in my endeavours upon this occasion, and truly the Queen seems satisfied with them, and is so gracious as to consider more my zeal than my weak performances. All her Roman Catholic servants are to leave her this day, except a few women excepted in the Act; it is a hardship for her to quit those who have so long served her, and so faithfully and discreetly."<sup>1</sup>

Queen Catherine was not alone in her dependence on Ossory's championship. To his father he was undoubtedly of incalculable assistance; and certainly there had never been a time when Ormonde stood in greater need of candid counsel and devoted service, for, had the Duke been a Jesuit priest, his position could scarcely have seemed more precarious to his anxious-minded friends. The rumours against him, to the elucidation or contradiction of which they devoted epistolary folios, make funny enough reading to-day; but that sense of humour must be robust which can survive a reign of terror such as England knew in the closing months of 1678. It is no exaggeration to say that, at this crisis, Ossory and his gallant old father were probably alone in treating tales that touched them so nearly with the gay disdain which was

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 255. Ossory to Duchess of Ormonde, 30th November 1678.

their rightful portion. For instance, when Lord Strafford—the son of Ormonde's great friend—set about a story that the Duke had suffered his anti-Popish proclamations to be torn down and defaced with impunity, Ossory only replied “that the doings of linkboys were not worth minding”;<sup>1</sup> and Ormonde did not quarrel with his son's answer. Indeed, he treated the legend with equal scorn, merely remarking that as Lord Strafford had made the tour of Ireland to govern the country “having taken that pains, it is just to allow him to make some stories of me, that room may be made for him.”<sup>2</sup> Again, when the Viceroy was made responsible for the Mayor of Dublin being “the dullest fool that ever was,” Ormonde characteristically replied :

“if it be laid to my charge that my Lord Mayor has no more wit than God has sent him, I suppose the intelligencer is merry ; he had wit enough to get to be rich, and an Alderman, and I think by those steps men get to be Lord Mayors.”<sup>3</sup>

Later, when told that he was accused not only of failing to carry out the suppression of Popish mass-houses, ordained by his own proclamations, but of putting these buildings under a guard of soldiers, he quietly remarked :

“I may as well be charged with sending a soldier to pull one of our own Bishops out of pulpit and murdering him. If I were, would any man in his wits give credit to it, or were I in mine, if I should go about to answer it?”<sup>4</sup>

The reports emanating, however, from the “Charlatan of Munster” belonged to another and a far more dangerous category. With so cunning an opponent, Ossory was determined not to be caught napping, and on at least one occasion, he lost no time in going straight to headquarters

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 220. Ossory to Ormonde, 23rd October 1678.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 254. Ormonde to Earl of Ossory, 30th November 1678.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 242. Ormonde to Earl of Anglesea, 23rd November 1678.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, p. 253. Ormonde to Earl of Anglesea, 29th November 1678.

to let the King know "how busy my lord of Orrery was."<sup>1</sup> Since the Year of Grace 1660, Charles II.'s influence had probably never counted for so little with his liege subjects. Yet it was an undoubted comfort to Ossory to be able to report that Charles had replied: "that he knew Orrery to be a rogue and that he would ever continue so."

On March the 6th, 1679, the newly elected Parliament met; a majority of uncompromising Protestants testifying to the country's sympathies. Two days before the members trooped into Westminster Hall, the Duke of York quitted England. Charles, anticipating the coming tempest, had thought it well to get his unpopular heir out of the way. To the Sovereign's order, James perforce bowed, but with how much reluctance is shown in the letter which he wrote to Ormonde. Nothing but the King's positive order would have made him depart,

"for you may easily believe," he said, "that I take even less pleasure in going out of England than I did in making so insignificant a figure, as I have done for some time past."<sup>2</sup>

James of York was no habitual correspondent of Ormonde, but like the rest of the Stuarts, his own misfortunes inevitably recalled to his memory the existence of so faithful a friend as Ormonde. He was not mistaken in appealing to James Butler's loyalty.

"It is certain," Ormonde replied, "nothing could surprise me more than Your Royal Highness's letter of the 3rd of the month, whether I consider the occasion of it, or the great honour of your thinking of me in such a conjuncture. I hope it was when Your Royal Highness was calling to mind what servants you left behind you that would not fear to manifest their duty and fidelity, whenever Your service should call them to it. Such a reflection on me and confidence in me at such a time, I account the greatest of those

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 243. Ossory to Ormonde, 26th November 678.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 142. Duke of York to Ormonde, 3rd March 1678.

many obligations I lie under, and for such, shall, as long as I live, be owned by you as Your Royal Highness's most faithful, dutiful, and obedient servant.”<sup>1</sup>

Charles's attempt to propitiate Parliament by sending the Duke of York into exile did not meet with the success he had hoped. Nothing could divert the House of Commons from the double purpose of passing the Exclusion Bill and punishing Danby for having applied to Louis XIV.—though at his own Sovereign's bidding—for secret supplies. Charles did his utmost to protect the Treasurer by granting him a comprehensive pardon, but this merely exasperated the Lower House, who regarded the King's action as an indirect method of evading their control; and, finally, Charles was forced to sacrifice Danby to their resentment, dismissing him from office. Yet, so well was the secret of the King's intentions kept, that when Danby sought the royal closet to relinquish his staff, he was escorted by a crowd of obsequious courtiers to the very door of the Monarch's apartment. When, however, he reappeared without the insignia of office, a strange transformation scene took place. The same men who had eagerly clustered round the Treasurer, vying with one another to do him honour, now, with an equal assiduity, shunned the fallen minister. Indeed, Danby was absolutely isolated, until Ossory, arriving on the scene, realised the significance of the situation. The sailor earl had no liking for Danby, who, he considered, had behaved scurvily to Ormonde. But time servers were abhorrent to him, and the recoil of his generous nature from their meanness carried him straight to the ex-Treasurer's side. During the remainder of the time Lord Danby spent in the withdrawing room, he was entertained by Ossory with all the charm he could ever command, and with “greater respect than he had ever paid him before.”

This episode marked the commencement only of Danby's tribulations. The Commons remained inexorable,

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 142. Ormonde to Duke of York, 22nd March 1678.

and the Treasurer's dismissal was quickly followed by his committal to the Tower. There, for five long years, he remained a prisoner. Yet grievous as were his after trials, the remembrance of that bitter hour, when he was first confronted with the baseness and inconstancy of those he had called his friends, must have scored deep traces in Danby's memory. For when Fortune once more smiled on the Duke of Leeds, he never wearied of recalling Ossory's manly and generous conduct.

Danby's disgrace, like the Duke of York's banishment, did not content the extremists, and the newly remodelled Privy Council, which included such divers elements as the Duke of Ormonde and his Whig son-in-law, Lord Cavendish, did not achieve that conciliation of parties so fondly predicted by its author, Sir William Temple.<sup>1</sup> The pretended Popish Plot still gave rise to prosecutions, while so overweening was now Titus Oates's arrogance that on passing the Queen in her chair in the Palace Yard, he actually stared straight at her, without "vouchsafing to take off his hat." Such an incident had a sinister air to Catherine's Chamberlain, but the "whispers" against Ormonde that reached him were even more alarming, making Ossory hope that nothing worse than removal from the Viceroyalty would befall his father. As to Ormonde himself he was more concerned at the bloodthirsty tastes that scheming politicians were developing in the English nation, than at this latest threat of personal danger.

"Accusations, condemnations, and executions," he wrote to Sir Robert Southwell, who had endorsed Ossory's alarmist warnings, "are as so many Lord Mayor's shews to the multitude; but let them have a care who would gain their good will by giving them such spectacles, that they find plenty of such diversions for them; for it will be hard to stop or satiate an appetite raised in so devouring a monster. The prophets before, and the apostles after Christ did many of those miracles that He did, but I do not remember that any but He did, or could, command a storm into a calm; it seems that was

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 55. Ossory to Ormonde, 22nd April 1679.

harder than to feed the living, or raise the dead. And no storm can be more impetuous, half so mischievous and difficult to be appeased at sea, as the madness of the people ashore. Witches (that is the devil), they say, can raise tempests on the main, and certainly it is he and his instruments that produce popular tumults on the land. God deliver all Christian Governments from them,"<sup>1</sup> he piously concludes.

Hitherto, Ormonde's antagonists had conducted their campaign against him by innuendo and "whisper." Now, realising their opportunity, they were not slow to exchange subterranean tactics for frontal attacks. Lord Meath's discredited accusations were revived, and the adventurers, who, in their hour of peril, had owed their existence to his courageous advocacy, also turned on the man to whom of all others they were indebted. Of these alarms and excursions Shaftesbury was the inspiring genius, arraigning Ormonde's administration on the ground of the Duke's supposed Irish proclivities.<sup>2</sup> And Ormonde could not well have had a more formidable opponent than the great Achitophel, for it must be remembered that Anthony Ashley Cooper was not only the readiest, the most resourceful statesman of his age in council, but that his oratory equally transcended the happiest efforts of his most eloquent contemporaries. The causes Lord Shaftesbury championed are stone dead. The reports of his speeches are miserably mutilated, yet in their ashes glows something of their ancient fires; and even to-day, those poor remains can still convey to their readers the echo at least of that thrill which Shaftesbury knew so well how to impart to his audience.

Against so consummate a master of rhetoric, no reasonable being would have dreamt of pitting Ossory, ready speaker though he was. Nevertheless, so great is the power of truth, that, even in this hour of madness, the sailor lord's defence of the old Duke proved a full, perfect, and convincing answer to Shaftesbury's sophistries.

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. 138. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, 7th May 1679.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 574.

Stung by what he considered plain allusions to Ormonde's supposed errors, Ossory, in a few straightforward sentences, recalled Ormonde's previous career—a career wholly dedicated to the service of King and country. Then, abandoning the defensive for the offensive, he proceeded :

"having spoken of what the Duke of Ormonde had done, he presumed with the same truth, to tell their Lordships what he had not done. He never advised the shutting of the Exchequer; he never advised the falling out of the Dutch and joining with France; he was not the author of that most excellent proposition of '*Delenda est Carthago*,' that Holland, a Protestant country, contrary to the true interest of England, should be totally destroyed. I beg your Lordships," Ossory continued, "to judge of my father and all men according to their actions and courses."<sup>1</sup>

Shaftesbury, practised and hardened debater though he was, cannot have relished this criticism of his past policy, but, much to the surprise of their Lordships, instead of falling on the fiery young Irishman, he instantly repudiated any intention of prejudicing the Duke of Ormonde. Ossory's eloquence was not the cause of this quasi-apology. It is more probable that Shaftesbury's quick perceptions told him that he would be alienating the sympathies of the House by showing open hostility to Ormonde. Whatever his reasons, however, it was no small relief to Ossory to be enabled to report that the Earl "had assured him of his value for himself, and respect for our family," so that they were enabled to part on "fair terms."<sup>2</sup> Nor was this the only happy result of Ossory's speech. Few things in his short Parliamentary career can have given the young orator more satisfaction than the warm eulogy it elicited from William of Orange.

"*J'ay été ravi d'apprendre*," he wrote, "que vous avez si bien sceu faire taire ces . . . d'harangeurs. Vôtre harangue est ici imprimé, laquelle je vous envoierai,

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 54. Ossory to Ormonde, 19th April 1679.

si cui je la puis avoir, devant que cellecy part. Je n'aurais jamais crû que l'on aurait été si loin d'attaquer M. vôtre Pere, lequel je croirois estre audessus de toutes soupçons, surtout en fait de religion. Dieu scait ce que cecy sera la fin de toutes vos brouilleries ; je la crains extrêmement du mauvais costé. Le temps nous apprendra en peu. Croyez-moi toujours sans réserve absolument à vous."<sup>1</sup>

Early in the year, Charles had suggested that Ormonde should resign his office of Lord Steward, thinking that the post would serve as a sop to one of the many clamorous leaders of the Opposition. Ormonde showed himself, as usual, ready to subordinate his own wishes to the King's convenience, remarking that he would never be found "unprovided with cheerful obedience to the Sovereign's pleasure."<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, he did point out that to deprive the Viceroy of honours, regarded as significant of the Sovereign's confidence, was scarcely the way to strengthen that official's difficult position. The scheme came to naught. Ormonde retained his white staff until his death, though, as the spring grew to summer, despite Shaftesbury's fair words, Ormonde's friends grew more and more doubtful of his retaining the more important of his offices. They were convinced that there was a deep laid plan to oust him from the Viceroyalty for the benefit of Halifax or Essex, and they implored him to come over to England to conduct his own defence. This was a step, however, the Duke was loath to take. As he told Coventry, he could not remember a single session of Parliament, he being absent from London, that he had not been, "hotly alarmed"<sup>3</sup> of contrivances and preparations for his undoing. And yet, when he arrived at Whitehall, it was generally to find that the accusations had melted away. The underlying motives of these recurrent charges would, the Duke shrewdly opined, never die or be laid to rest, as long as their object remained.

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 136. Prince of Orange to Ossory, de la Hogue, ce 2 de May 1679.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 141. Ormonde to King, 3rd February 1679.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 575. Ormonde to Mr Secretary Coventry, Dublin, 30th April 1679.

By age and inclination, he himself would be content to purchase peace at any rate but that of dishonour or prejudice to his fortune or family. To resign in the present circumstances, would, he thought, be attended with both these drawbacks.

"Therefore," concluded the gallant old man, "though I could with all imaginable cheerfulness and content lay this great and envied place at his Majesty's feet, from whose hands I received it, yet I cannot bring myself to offer it as a ransom, or composition, but had rather undergo the strictest inquiry and trials of my actions."

One concession, and one only, would he make to his friends' anxieties. He requested permission to depute the Government to one of his sons, should it appear that affairs really called for his presence in England. By the time, however, that Ormonde's conditional petition reached Whitehall, affairs had undergone a radical change. Charles had come to the conclusion that he must prorogue Parliament, and with the prorogation vanished the need of Ormonde's presence in England. The King's decision brought much obloquy on himself and his advisers, although it is difficult to see what other measures Charles could have taken consistently with any regard to his brother's rights. All the King's sacrifices had proved unavailing. James was an exile in Flanders. Danby was a prisoner in the Tower. Yet on May the 21st, the relentless Commons passed the second reading of the Exclusion Bill by a large majority. The King's response to this defiance did not tarry. Encouraged by the three statesmen, the so-called "Triumvirate," Sunderland, Essex, and Halifax, who, from the chaos of Temple's Privy Council were emerging as the true leaders of the hour, Charles prorogued Parliament until August.

The rise of the Triumvirate threatened considerably to affect Ormonde's fortunes. Public opinion designated one of the two latter noblemen as his probable successor. And if Halifax declared that he would decline the post should it be offered him, Essex made no secret of his wish to

return to Dublin. But though Charles, at this juncture, was under Essex's influence, he was not disposed to sacrifice Ormonde to his new minister. In fact, when Arlington ventured to ask the King if it was true that he intended to remove the Lord-Lieutenant, Charles briskly replied, "it was a damned lie, and that he was satisfied while Ormonde was there, the kingdom was safe"; the new ministers he had got, he continued, were for jostling out his old faithful servants, but they should never gain that point from him; and, with a strong asseveration, he added that "whilst the Duke of Ormonde lived, he should never be put out of the Government."<sup>1</sup>

Charles's determination to retain Ormonde's services may have been partly due to the fact that the prorogation had—momentarily at least—delivered him from Parliamentary interference.<sup>2</sup> Yet this was a less gain to the King than the quarrel between Halifax and Shaftesbury, caused by the former's attitude on the subject. In the first shock of surprise, Shaftesbury swore that "he would have the heads of those who devised the prorogation," and the lapse of time did not soften his wrath. Never again did he act in unison with the "Trimmer"; and this division amongst the leaders did much to impair the efficiency of the Whig Party. Nor did it help to restore harmony between the former allies, when, disregarding Shaftesbury's protests, Charles went a step further and dissolved the prorogued Parliament. The only policy thereafter in which the Triumvirate and Shaftesbury concurred was the furthering of the Catholic prosecutions. No less than five Jesuits suffered at this juncture. The first sign of a reaction was the acquittal of Sir George Wakeman, the royal physician, who had been charged with compassing the King's death. Charles's intense thankfulness at the jury's verdict showed how far-reaching were his fears. Indeed, even Catherine, who had been accused of being Wakeman's accomplice, could scarcely have exhibited greater relief than did her husband on this occasion.

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 577.

<sup>2</sup> Lodge, "Political History," p. 164.

Ossory told his father that Charles not only "expressed much kindness" to the poor Queen, but with "tears of joy did express the satisfaction he had for the acquittal of this man, which he presumes will hinder the malicious attempts of ill men against her."<sup>1</sup>

Catherine's alarms on her own account were scarcely passed before she was plunged into acute anxiety for the husband whom she devotedly loved. Towards the end of August, Charles fell ill at Windsor of intermittent fever, and during two days the physicians gave no hope of his recovery. Had he died, the Triumvirate would have found themselves in a terrible position. The Duke of Monmouth, whose recent victories over the Scottish Covenanters, no less than his humanity towards the vanquished, had made him the hero of the hour, disposed of the entire military force of the kingdom. The heir-presumptive, as unpopular as his nephew was beloved, was meanwhile at Brussels. Before the eyes of the affrighted ministry, civil war must have loomed imminent. In this dilemma, they were probably justified in sending a secret summons to James, though when the Duke, travelling at high speed, arrived at Windsor, it was to find his brother convalescent and the very men who had called him over, consumed with desire to send him quickly back to Flanders. And to Brussels James did eventually return, though only to fetch his wife and family thence, for the King's illness and the Duke's advent had wrought a change in the political situation, which the Ministry could not ignore. They were obliged to compound with the man who had so nearly become their master. Monmouth was accordingly dismissed from his command, and ordered out of the country, while James received permission to establish himself at Edinburgh.

Undoubtedly, the Whigs had suffered a repulse; and in the subsequent election, although they retained the allegiance of the counties and corporations, some of the smaller boroughs reverted to the Court Party. In these circumstances, it might have been expected that Catholic

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 158. Ossory to Ormonde, 19th July 1679.

Ireland would benefit by the change just making itself visible. The very reverse occurred. It was on the distressful country that Shaftesbury and his following vented their rage. If they could, they would have turned out Ormonde and remodelled the entire Irish Privy Council; and though they failed in both aims, they nevertheless wrung certain concessions out of the Ministry.

Hitherto, the Penal Laws in England and Ireland had been strikingly dissimilar. The sole penalties enforced in Ireland against recusants concerned the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy, and the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup> In November 1679, Ormonde was peremptorily commanded to transmit bills to introduce the Test Act and other penal legislation into Ireland, with such other measures for suppressing Popery as might consist with the state of the country. Moreover, he was instructed to issue a proclamation encouraging informers to come forward and give evidence against the Popish Plot. Thanks to the fact that a whole batch of statutes was in preparation for despatch to England, a delay ensued before these objectionable measures were laid before the English Privy Council. With regard to the proclamation this beneficent procrastination was impossible. It was duly issued, but, notwithstanding so direct an incitement to perjury, Ireland's contribution to the sensationalism of the Popish Plot remained so inconsiderable as sorely to disappoint Shaftesbury and Orrery.

Roger Boyle's activities were, however, fast drawing to a close. He had long been ailing. In October it became clear that he was in the grip of a mortal malady; and on the 16th of that month he passed away. Yet, up to the last, he interested himself in ferreting out plots and conspirators. Indeed, the most notable mare's nest of that demented period was of the Earl's providing. On the strength of certain sea-captains' depositions, he announced that a ship he specified would shortly unload five thousand to six thousand muskets at Waterford—

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 582.

supplies for the long predicted, and now imminent French invasion.<sup>1</sup> Ormonde marvelled at the choice of this particular harbour, since the surrounding district swarmed with English troopers and Protestant militiamen. But he was determined to run no risks; and when the said vessel sailed into Waterford, she was consequently laid under embargo and strictly examined, some amusement being caused when she was found to carry salt instead of firearms.

Meanwhile, across the Channel, the sudden arrival of the Duke of Monmouth in London did not lessen popular excitement. He had returned without leave; and Charles, thoroughly exasperated, not only refused to see him but deprived him of all his offices, including that most lucrative of sinecures, the Justiceship in Eyre. Ossory had set his heart on obtaining this particular appointment for his brother-in-law, Lord Chesterfield, and, thanks to his being first in the field with his petition, the prize was awarded to Philip Stanhope. Chesterfield had, however, to be persuaded into accepting what Lord Mulgrave had described as "feathers plucked from the King's son,"<sup>2</sup> for, like the rest of the courtiers, he could not believe that Charles's anger would be of an enduring nature, and it needed the King's resolute declaration that Monmouth should never be again restored to his dignities before these unusual scruples could be laid. But when the final interview took place between the Sovereign and Lord Chesterfield it passed off "extremely well, and the King pleased with his choice and the other very much with the manner as well as the obligation laid upon him."<sup>3</sup> If the "stripping" of the King's firstborn by the King was complete, on the other hand, the people of England did their utmost to atone for his losses to "Protestant Duke James." London blazed with bonfires in his honour. Everywhere he was escorted by cheering multitudes. No Tudor ever evoked greater enthusiasm than did the son

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 585.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 248. Ossory to Ormonde, 5th December 1679.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 247. Colonel Edward Cooke to Ormonde, 2nd December 1679.

of Lucy Waters, and his subsequent progress through the West was a pageant, never forgotten by its witnesses, while the courtiers and great nobles showed their belief in his star by flocking in the wake of the mob to greet Monmouth. Ossory was of the very small minority who declined to wait upon the Duke.

"I will prefer decency to my master," he wrote, "to all other considerations, and I think it not consistent with that to compliment any that stands in his present circumstances."<sup>1</sup>

Monmouth's triumph, showing as it did the temper of the people, drove Charles to retaliatory measures. He prorogued Parliament; Halifax retired to the country; and Essex resigned the Commission of the Treasury. In January 1680, the Duke of York was allowed to return to London, and it was soon clear that the King would tolerate no slights to his brother. Amongst the foremost Whig nobles was Lord Cavendish, Ormonde's son-in-law. As a protest against Charles's prorogation of Parliament he and Lord Russell resigned their seats on the Privy Council. To this step, the King made no objection. In fact, when they asked his permission to go, he curtly replied, "with all my heart," but it was a different matter when it came to denying James, as Lord Cavendish now did, the courtesies due to his rank. Ossory, indeed, declared that he could not "enough admire" Lord Cavendish's conduct,

"coming hither (to Newmarket) after his leaving the Council and being here several days, and in the rooms when he met the Duke and never took notice of him, or went to kiss his hand, as the other three that quit with him have done."<sup>2</sup>

Ossory had certainly some cause of complaint against his relative, for at the latter's urgent request he had transmitted Lord Cavendish's "professions of duty and respect"

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 291. Ossory to Ormonde, Newmarket, 15th March 1679.

to the Duke when James was in Flanders. To these compliments the Duke had made a "very kind return." Yet, Lord Cavendish, "without any manner or colour of disgust," and although he had personal grounds for dissatisfaction with the Protestant Duke, had thereafter "applied himself particularly to Monmonth."<sup>1</sup> Thus Ossory was considerably incensed with his unaccountable kinsman, but notwithstanding his vexation, like the rest of the world he must have thought it "a hard office" to be sent to forbid his brother-in-law the Royal Presence. Wherever the Court chanced to be this was no light form of censure. At Newmarket, moreover, it was equivalent to the modern "warning off the turf." The culprit was not only debarred from entering the King's withdrawing room, but he was also incapacitated from running his horses. And as Lord Cavendish had just spent "near £400 to buy horses," he must have regretted that he had not vouchsafed a bow to the Duke of York.

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxix. f. 80. Reading to Lord Arran, 20th March 1680.

## CHAPTER X

### THE DEATH OF OSSORY

OSSORY'S unpleasing mission to Cavendish was not the sole disagreeable incident that befell the sailor earl about this period. The marriage of Marie Louise d'Orléans to the King of Spain, which took place in August 1679, had caused no little flutter amongst the royal family of England. For the bride's mother, Madame Henriette, Charles II. had experienced one of the few unselfish affections of his life. And in the first glow of satisfaction at his niece's alliance, he determined that nothing on his part should be wanting to express his joy. His special envoy to the royal pair must be the most accomplished of his courtiers, while the gift must be even costlier than those which crowned heads were entitled to expect from him. Accordingly, La Goose, the Court jeweller, was instructed to furnish a gewgaw worth some £12,000 to £13,000, Ossory being charged with its delivery.

Nothing could have pleased the Earl better than this embassy to a Court, where, both on his own, and on his father's account, he was assured of a warm welcome. Moreover, a journey to Madrid meant also a visit to Lisbon, where Queen Catherine's Chamberlain could count on an equally good reception, followed by another to Florence, the Grand Duke of Tuscany having implored him to afford him his company on his homeward voyage. In these circumstances, Ossory not unnaturally waxed so eager to undertake this tour, that Ormonde's hesitation and doubts could not withstand his son's arguments. The cause of the Duke's hesitation was not far to seek,

Arlington having only committed himself to the supposition that the expenses of the journey would "probably" be covered by the funds allotted by the Treasury—a guarantee scarcely calculated to reassure the Duke, who was always sceptical of the financial recommendations to any of Ossory's undertakings.<sup>1</sup> But seeing his son's heart set on the scheme, after a few mild objections, he desisted from any further opposition. Ossory, consequently began his preparations for the journey, and all seemed to be in good train, when "this genteelst errand" was wrecked on its own merits.

Essex, then first commissioner of the Treasury, strongly objected to the cost of La Goose's *chef d'œuvre*. Nor in the actual state of the Exchequer was such an objection frivolous, although public opinion ascribed his action less to scruples economical, than to dislike for the ambassador elect. Undoubtedly, the two men were not on cordial terms. Quite recently, Ossory had sent Essex a challenge, which the latter very properly declined, preferring this back-handed fashion, apparently, of teaching the impetuous Irishman to be more observant of those in authority. And certainly it was no light rejoinder to Ossory's cartel, for independently of the Earl's disappointment and mortification, it entailed the sacrifice of the sums already expended on his outfit. However, protestations would have been vain. Charles forwarded his compliments in the ordinary way, and the jewel, denied to Marie Louise, soon afterwards found its way into the Duchess of Portsmouth's casket.

This tiresome episode was followed by negotiations which to a person of Ossory's generous temper must have been peculiarly distasteful. Although he still held the Prince of Orange's patent as General, he lacked its confirmation by the States General—an omission affecting both his purse and his official status. In the spring of 1680, he therefore begged the Prince to obtain the States' regularisation of the commission. William was all eagerness

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 175. Arlington to Ormonde, Whitehall, 8th August 1679.

on his friend's behalf; but, owing to the fact that the war was drawing to a close, he was not certain of success, and when Ossory realised the situation, he felt it right immediately to ask William's leave to resign his commission, "afin," he wrote, "que je ne vous sois plus un sujet d'embarras. Le profit," he characteristically added, "n'est pas la cause de cette demande, mais je croirais que mon honneur pourrait partir par une marque si singulière d'estre le seul Officier Général de Paris (?) à qui on ne donne pas de gages."<sup>1</sup>

The idea of losing Ossory was, however, intolerable to William. In so "passionately obliging" a manner, in fact, did he beseech Ossory to reconsider his decision, that Ormonde doubted whether Ossory "could, in good nature," abandon the Prince's service, while William considered him so necessary. Yet, the much-harassed Ormonde sadly admitted that it would be well if Ossory could find some

"fit means to let the Prince know how much the world is mistaken in the opulence of your family, and that such sums as must be spent answerable to your quality and post, incommode you."<sup>2</sup>

The "fit means" Ossory adopted was the despatch of a trusty messenger to explain his situation to the Prince, and once seized of the facts, so ably did William plead his friend's cause that, contrary to all expectations, the matter was satisfactorily adjusted. Even after the States had signified their agreement to Ossory's petition, some delay, however, ensued before Ossory received his commission, a delay for which William apologised in a style certainly deserving Ormonde's description of "passionately obliging."<sup>3</sup>

"Il faut," wrote the future William III., "que vous me croies le plus faus de tous les hommes après les assurances

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS., Ormonde, vol. v. p. 266. Earl of Ossory to Prince of Orange.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 294. Ormonde to Earl of Ossory, 31st March 1680.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 330. Prince of Orange to Earl of Ossory, 29th May 1680.

que je vous ay donné, que votre affaire serait terminée bientot, qu'elle ne l'est pas encore, mais si vous étiez sur les lieux vous voiriez que ce n'est pas ma faute." Having recounted in detail the reason of these delays he continues : " Je vous prie d'estre bien assuré du déplaisir que j'ay de ce retardement et du chagrin que me cause une affaire de cette nature, j'espère qu'elle sera si tost finie que nous pourrons avoir la satisfaction de vous voir en ce lieu avant votre voyage d'Irland, affin de vous pouvoir assurer de bouche de la véritable passion avec lequel (*sic*) je suis absolument a vous."

To speculate on events that might have occurred, is a singularly futile occupation, but it is difficult not to wonder what Ossory's attitude would have been had he lived until 1688. To the Sovereign *de jure*, family traditions, no less than personal associations, must needs have kept him faithful. Yet, as a staunch Protestant and a great Irish landowner, James's policy would certainly have cost Ossory infinite heart searchings, while to surrender the friendship of William of Orange must have made the parting of the ways unspeakably bitter to Thomas Butler. Thus, perhaps, of him also it might be said that "those whom the gods love die young."

In June 1680, Ossory was appointed Governor of Tangier, and commander of the forces being sent thither. This portion of Queen Catherine's heritage was then hard beset by the Moors, and it was evident that a large number of men would be needed to retain the town and fort for the English crown. Ossory would have welcomed any opportunity of fighting that held a reasonable chance of victory ; but with the troops and stores assigned, the expedition was clearly foredoomed to failure. Indeed, when discussing the matter with Lord Sunderland in the King's presence, Ossory did not mince matters. He told the minister that the "commission was in no way agreeable, and that few who valued their honour would willingly undertake it."<sup>1</sup> When Sunderland begged the

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 344. Earl of Ossory to Ormonde, Whitehall, 9th July 1680.

question by saying that "if nothing was done, the people in the streets would throw stones," Ossory caustically retorted "that if more men and more treasure were employed upon a vain undertaking, that ten for one would be cast at the advisers." This outburst on the Earl's part, not unnaturally, "ended the consultation," but Ossory contrived privately to resume the subject with the King. He told Charles plainly that experts were unanimous in condemning so ill-equipped an enterprise, adding that, although he himself "would obey him always, yet he did not wish to undertake a service in which he thought certainly to miscarry." Charles, who loathed disagreeable topics of conversation, tried to shuffle off responsibility, vowing he had intended the command "as a pleasure" to Ossory, and that "no harm would be done if he declined." That the King was not displeased by his frankness, Ossory, in truth, believed. His knowledge of courts and courtiers, however, made him equally certain that ministers would easily "exasperate" the Monarch into resenting his refusal. Eventually, therefore, considerations such as these overcame Ossory's reluctance, and by the middle of July his departure for Tangier was no longer in question.

Thenceforth, all was bustle to get men, ships, and stores ready for the expedition. With regard to food supplies Ossory was aware that he must be self-supporting. As the plague was raging in Spain, he could not re-victual himself across the Straits, and £5 laid out in Ireland brought in a better return than £30 expended in Tangier.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, it was in the former island that he took in his stores, the Duchess's flocks and herds being laid under heavy contribution. If Elizabeth Ormonde and her comptroller were thoroughly trustworthy caterers,<sup>2</sup> the troops raised in London must have been less satisfactory to the leaders of a forlorn hope. They were apparently the "merest boys," and it was doubtful whether the

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 345. . . . to Mr James Clarke, 13th July 1680.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xlivi. f. 484. Reading to Lord Arran, London, 27th July 1680.

one hundred and twenty horses, purchased at Calais, at £10 apiece, to save freightage from England, would prove better bargains. Further to criticise the details of an expedition, thus organised, is perhaps superfluous.

On July the 26th, as John Evelyn was standing about in the Privy Gallery after morning sermon, he came across Lord Ossory.<sup>1</sup> More than twenty years had passed since he and Ossory had learnt *manège* riding together in the Paris Academies. The lapse of time had not affected the friendship then contracted, and Evelyn liked to think that the sailor earl had never "gone out of England on any exploit," without first coming to bid him farewell. On his part, Ossory, smarting under a sense of injustice, was in a mood when a friend of Evelyn's real devotion was a godsend. On the score of feeling too ill to eat, he declined an invitation to dinner, but begged Evelyn to come and keep him company in his own lodgings — a request which was instantly obeyed. When they were alone, Ossory lost no time in unburdening himself by showing Evelyn a letter he was then writing to Sunderland. Sunderland's cynical confession that Ossory and his troops were being sacrificed to appease energetic politicians in the House of Commons, might have irritated a milder man than Ossory, while the subsequent conduct of the Ministry had added to his resentment. Originally he had been promised six thousand foot and six hundred horse. These had now been cut down by two-thirds. Yet it was no easy task that awaited this miniature army. They were expected "to defend the town, form a camp, repulse the enemy, and fortify what ground they could get on." In these circumstances, it is small wonder that Ossory believed that those who "envied his virtue," or, as we should say, his success, had deliberately manœuvred him into a position where he would be charged with every miscarriage and misfortune, and run the risk of losing his reputation. The suspicion of being trepanned is amongst the bitterest trials that can befall a trusting nature, but

<sup>1</sup> John Evelyn's "Diary," 26th July 1680.

it was the King's indifference to his safety that cut Ossory to the heart. Modest though he was, the Earl was conscious of having served the Monarch well, nor could he help feeling that the Duke of Ormonde's heir deserved some consideration. "Yet, as his Lordship took it," says John Evelyn, Charles seemed ready "to cast him away, not only on a hazardous adventure, but, in most men's opinion, an impossibility." The King's conduct, said the affectionate listener, "took so deep root in Ossory's heart that he, who was the most void of fear in the world (and assured me he would go to Tangier with ten men if His Majesty commanded him) could not bear up against this unkindness."

After much talk of this nature, the two friends parted, Ossory sick and sad though he was, feeling bound to attend his ungrateful master to a great supper at the Fishmongers' Hall. He had, however, miscalculated his physical strength. He was forced to quit the feast early and betake himself to bed, and the next day, the fever increasing, he removed to more comfortable quarters at Arlington House. It was soon evident that he was seriously ill—of typhus fever, if the doctors' diagnosis can be trusted. Lady Ossory was absent, but his servants, his brother-in-law, and the six best physicians the capital could furnish, nursed him with unremitting devotion. Every remedy then in vogue seems to have been employed. The poor earl was profusely bled, his beer (!) was doctored with drops, and pigeons were laid to the soles of his feet.<sup>1</sup> All was in vain. He had intervals of consciousness, but more often he was delirious. In these distressing crises, it is pathetic to note, that his thoughts reverted to the Tangier expedition :

"when the burning fit came upon him, he raved much of Tangier, posting his men, attacking, retrenching, and defending, then sighing heavily as in despair, more bewailing the loss of his people's lives than his own."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS., Ormonde, vol. v. p. 356. Mr Muleys to Henry Gascoigne, 28th July 1680.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 361. Mr Muleys to Henry Gascoigne, 31st July 1680.

One would fain hope that the King was not allowed to ignore these incidents of his faithful servant's agony. Tears, undoubtedly, Charles shed over Ossory's condition. They should have been tears no less of contrition than of regret.

Although he was generally either unconscious or wandering, there were moments, however, when Ossory regained his senses. During one of these lucid intervals, he consulted Arlington about making his will, but Arlington, with greater tenderness than might have been expected, dissuaded him from the exertion. He told Ossory that he would undertake to transmit his wishes regarding Lady Ossory's jointure, the payment of debts, or the gratification of servants to Ormonde, with whom he remarked these points would be "over-secured."<sup>1</sup> Trust in his father's rectitude and generosity was an integral part of Ossory's character, and henceforth he reserved such little strength as remained to him for the consideration of those things which neither rust nor moth doth corrupt.

If they did not always live to edification, it must be admitted that our seventeenth century ancestors knew how to die. In Ossory's case there was, however, no divorce between the habitual tenor of his life and its ending. His natural piety inclined him to seek the consolations of religion. His strong human sympathies would have made it impossible for him to shut out his friends from the last, the supreme experience, and he was blessed in those who strove to light his passage through the dark valley.

John Evelyn, the layman who knelt by Ossory's side to receive the Sacrament, like that saintly Mrs Godolphin whom his pen has immortalised, had contrived to be in the world without being of it. Lloyd, the parish priest of St Martin's - in - the - Fields, who spent whole nights watching and praying in the sick-room, could also be truthfully described as a "holy, humble, meek, and

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 360. Earl of Arlington to Ormonde, 31st July 1680.

patient man, ever ready to do good.”<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Lloyd was no recluse. The friend of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey, it was he who had preached that excellent magistrate’s funeral sermon. On that occasion, his heart certainly ran away with his head; though the excursion into the world of politics this oration inaugurated had taught him to see courtiers and politicians through no illusory glamour, but as they were in sad reality. The impression he derived from that long vigil was consequently no less compounded of amazement than thankfulness. It was “highly pleasing to him,” he wrote, “to find a man, who had been so much upon the stage of the world in action, and living in a court, so fit to die.”<sup>2</sup> The naïveté of the encomium may make us smile. Yet surely no better tribute could be imagined to that steadfastness of spirit which had kept the most popular, the most courted courtier in the Whitehall of the Stuarts, unspotted from the world.

The divine was not, however, single in his eulogy. Indeed, the universal mourning for the sailor earl almost recalls the nation’s grief for that Elizabethan youth of promise, the incomparable Sir Philip, who in his single person, like Ossory, typifies all that was best in his race and generation. Nor are the elegiacs on young Astrophel inapplicable to the *preux chevalier* of the second Charles’s Court. For as of Mary Sidney’s son, so too of Elizabeth Ormonde’s could it be said that he,

“Grew up fast in goodness and in grace,  
And doubly fair wox both in mind and face,  
Which daily more and more he did augment  
With gentle usage and demeanour mild  
That all men’s hearts with secret ravishment  
He stole away, and wittingly beguiled,  
Ne spite itself, that all good things doth spill,  
Found aught in him that she could say was ill.”

It must, however, be said that the “common people, who adored Ossory,” did not share this Arcadian belief in the

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS., Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 338. R. Muleys to Captain George Mathew, 21st August 1680.

impotence of spite.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, when on that fatal Friday, July the 30th, 1680, they learned that Ossory had passed away, they openly asserted that he had fallen a victim to the envy of those whose own doings formed so effective a foil to their hero's virtues. There was no foundation for the rumour. Ossory, apparently, had died of malignant typhus. Yet to the poet who sang his elegy, it was equally inconceivable that the "Universal Darling of mankind" should have fallen

"From Glory's Pinnacle,  
Not in the hot pursuit of Victory  
As gallant men would choose to dy,  
But tamely like a poor Plebeian from his Bed"<sup>2</sup>

And crowned heads were admonished that—

"Renowned, serene, imperial, most august  
Are only mighty epithets for dust,  
While the blossoms of our hopes so fresh, so gay,  
Appear and promise Fruit, then fade away."

The more prosaic lamentations that reached Ormonde were hardly less poignant. Catherine of Braganza made no attempt to hide her tears, and her letter, in its almost infantile simplicity, fully reveals the sincerity of her grief for "so true a friend."<sup>3</sup> The epistles of Sir William Temple,<sup>4</sup> Lord Faversham,<sup>5</sup> Primate Boyle,<sup>6</sup> and the Duke of York on the same subject, though strangely contrasted in style to Catherine's piteous little note, all express the same unaffected sorrow. Undoubtedly, Henry Coventry had cause for his simple wonder "in so very bad an age, to see so good a man lamented by so many of all sorts."<sup>7</sup>

On one point, whether their pity clothed itself in Ciceronian phrase or stammered in halting sentence, all the diverse personages, and many another into the

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 590.

<sup>2</sup> Flatman, *On the Death of the Earl of Ossory, a Pindaric Ode.*

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 145. Catherine of Braganza to Ormonde, 3rd September 1680.

<sup>4</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 376. Sir W. Temple to Ormonde, 14th August 1680.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem.* Lord Faversham to Ormonde, 14th August 1680.

<sup>6</sup> *Idem.* p. 370. Primate Boyle to Ormonde, 17th August 1680.

<sup>7</sup> *Idem.* p. 365. Henry Coventry to Ormonde, 2nd August 1680.

bargain, stood agreed. Their own sense of personal loss made them appreciate the magnitude of the Duke's bereavement. They did not judge amiss. Since the night when the young father's heart had gone out to the impetuous child, avid of enterprise and adventure, trampling overhead in his first manlike equipment, joy and pride in his firstborn had been part of Ormonde's existence. With the ripening of the heroic youth's character, the understanding between father and son grew ever closer. Of late, too, their parts had been somewhat inverted. Ormonde had no more active champion than Ossory, ever watching from afar to give warning of impending danger, or warding off attacks, overt or insidious, against his father. Moreover, all these offices of filial piety gained a gracious charm in their performance, for Ossory fought for his father rather with the enthusiasm of a fond lover, than with the obedience of a dutiful son. In very truth, the light of Ormonde's eyes failed when Ossory's were closed in death.

Yet stricken as he was, the habits of a lifetime brought that courage to Ormonde of which he stood in need. "The King's government had to be carried on." In this conviction, the very bedrock of his character, he found support and strength. It was, indeed, his paramount pre-occupation. "God send you thousands and thousands of loyal hearts as ours are that remain: and as ready hands as his were that are gone"<sup>1</sup> was the Duke's answer to Charles's words of sympathy. To James of York he wrote: "I could wish myself younger, and my grandson elder, that we might give the better testimony of our loyalty and gratitude to the Crown."<sup>2</sup> Perhaps, however, it is in a speech recorded by Carte that the Duke's master passion is most apparent.<sup>3</sup> A nobleman, whose son had not imitated Ossory's example, and whose own smooth speeches Ormonde had little cause to trust, deputed some mutual acquaintance to express both his concern for the

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.* Ormonde to Duke of York, 19th August 1680.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 607.

Duke and his wonder that Ormonde could survive so terrible a loss. His Grace's reply was startling in its directness.

"My loss," he said, "indeed sits heavy on me, and nothing else in the world could affect me so much, but since I could bear the death of my great and good master, King Charles I., I can bear anything else: and though I am very sensible of the loss of such a son as Ossory was, yet I thank God my case is not quite so deplorable as that nobleman's: for I had much rather have my dead son, than his living one."

These were brave words, consonant to the whole tenor of the speaker's life: and that Ormonde did well to bear his burden with the "decency" the canons of that reticent age demanded, none can doubt, but in a letter to Lady Clancarty, we get a glimpse of what James Butler was suffering. We see the hopelessness of old age that knows its joys, its best work, its happiest companionships all suddenly relegated to the past, and that past made infinitely remote by the withdrawal of a single personality —the personality in whom Ormonde had, until yesterday, equally renewed his youth and centred his ambitions. To Lady Clancarty, Ormonde owned "that I shall never, I think, remember the son I have lost but with anguish." Such avowals were not difficult to make to one who had gone through the same trials as the Duke, and who was now, as his letter shows, the sole survivor of that bright sisterhood, so admired by Strafford in the years when the world still wore the hues of sunrise for her and for Ormonde. Writing from Carrick, the Duke told Lady Clancarty:

"I designed to come hither to divert my thoughts from the just cause I had to grieve at Kilkenny, and as I was ready to take coach, was assured of my dear sister Hamilton's death, before I was certain she was otherwise sick than of a light indisposition. What an aggravation and remembrancer of my other misfortune this was, you may easily imagine. When I came hither, every place and every roome put me in mind of the merrier and

younger days I had spent (indeed, misspent) here, and the throng of those near relations and friends that made it pleasant to me, came one after another into my memory : and when I came to cast up the account, I find that I have left but one sister, one full brother, and one son, and God knows how many, or rather how few, valuable and reall allies and friends, and that the earth covers many more than it bears. Such a computation most men of my rank and age may make, and ought to make much earlier than I have done ; but unthinking prodigals are not sensible of the wasting of their fortunes till they have little left : and as people in affluence have for the most part but little regard of those in want and misery, so those that are plentifully stocked with children and nearest relations, have seldom the compassion they ought to have for those that are under the affliction of being deprived of them : and therefore it is just with God to make them feel what they were so insensible of in the case of others. I know," he continues, " you are provided of better consolations than I can offer at, nor is what I write intended for that work: it is only, as well as I can, to own and magnify the Allmighty's justice and mercy, His Justice in His afflictions, and His mercy in that they are no longer, nor any other than such as are common remembrances of our mortality, than which if rightly made use of, there cannot be a more profitable meditation ; which God send us all to do, and protect you and yours."<sup>1</sup>

Edifying reflections on the dark ways of Providence came, perhaps, more readily to our forefathers than to their descendants, but that the pious thoughts thus distilled from the very waters of Marah were no words of sooth and seeming, is proved by a "prayer and humiliation on the death of his son" found in the Duke's "red-desk" at his decease.<sup>2</sup> The devotional fashion of the day was leisurely. Ormonde's petition is too long in its entirety for quotation. Yet, though it does not claim comparison with the stately ecclesiastical prose of the Caroline age, its ring is no less true than touching. It is the man himself. For it is the cry of a spirit, wounded almost unto death

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. pp. 184-5. Ormonde to Lady Clancarty, Carrick, 25th August 1680.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, p. 190.

yet, in death, loyal to the Master who has so willed it, and, in that loyalty, finding the answer to the riddle, which has most vexed the souls of the sons of men.

"O God, by whom and in whom we live, move and have our being, I owe and adore Thy justice, and I magnify Thy mercy and goodness in that Thou hast taken from mee and to Thyselv my dear and beloved son. My sinns have called for this correction and Thou didst hold Thy hand till Thy patience was wearyed by my continual and unrepented transgressions. . . . From my childhood to my declined age," he continues, "Thou has made use of all Thy wondrous and manifold methods of drawing me, a sinner, to amendment and obedience; but, alas! how, hitherto, they have been in vain! Thou madest me prosperous and unsuccessful, poor and rich, Thou broughtest me into dangers and Thou gavest me deliverance: Thou leddest me into exile and broughtest me home with honour: and yet none of Thy dispensations have had their naturall or reasonable effect upon me; they have been resisted and overcome by an obdurate sensuality. Yet, Gracious God, give me leave with comfort to remember that Thy mercy is infinite and over all Thy works. In that mercy and in the merits of Jesus Christ my Saviour, look upon me, turn Thy face to me, and Thy wrath from me. Let this sore affliction melt or break my heart, let it melt it into godly sorrow, or let the hardness of it be even broken by yet heavier calamities. However, at last returne, O Lord and heale mee, and leave a blessing behind Thee, the blessing of a true repentance, and a constant amendment, the blessing of fervent devotion, of universal obedience to Thy holy lawes, and of unshaken perseverance in the wayes of Thee my God."

A few days before the news of Ossory's death reached Ormonde, the Duke had confessed that the political outlook was so threatening that he could only compare his own position to an experience at Havre de Grace in 1648 when "there was not water eno' to let the vessell I was in into the harbor, and the storm was too fierce to let her live without."<sup>1</sup> The Duke was not guilty of exaggeration. In

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 336. Ormonde to Henry Coventry, 2nd August 1680.

Ulster, the meetings of disaffected Presbyterians, striving to revive the Covenant, were the more disquieting since, only a few miles away across the water, the bulk of the population was in complete sympathy with these fierce spirits.<sup>1</sup> Harassed as he was by public alarms and private griefs, Ormonde, by a judicious mixture of tact and firmness, nevertheless, contrived to avert an explosion. His real danger and that of Ireland lay, it is true, rather without than within the country. A party comprising Shaftesbury, Essex, Sunderland, and the Duchess of Portsmouth would, at any juncture, have been difficult to combat; but with his best adviser and defender gone, the fight between Ormonde and his adversaries must have seemed singularly unequal. Undoubtedly, his enemies thought the juncture singularly opportune for, after Ossory's death, they lost no time in bringing their united forces to bear against Ormonde. To turn out Ormonde and put Essex in his place was the aim of this strangely assorted band of conspirators, and Charles's need of Ormonde's services must have been great to enable him to withstand the cajoleries of Louise de Kéroualle. But although the Monarch did not surrender at the first summons, the gang believed that he must eventually yield to continued pressure. They were therefore determined to prevent Ormonde from holding a Parliament at Dublin, for they realised that if he could provide the King with subsidies, his position with the Sovereign would be immensely strengthened. Moreover, they seem to have been genuinely afraid that Ormonde might revive Strafford's policy, and that by means of an army raised and subventioned in Ireland, he would succeed in making the King independent of the English Parliament. Of his fears on this score, Shaftesbury made no secret.

"What," cried that master of sophistries, "does Ireland, the snake which we have harboured in our bosom, and warmed it there, when it could scarce live, think to give law to England? To give money to make the King independent of his people? to raise an army? if they be so powerful! It is time for England to look about them

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 608.

to make it a province: and for the grants of Ireland, contrary to the interests of the declaration, and which have swallowed the satisfaction of Protestant adventurers and soldiers—they will vote them null and void, and make a law also to that purpose. Lord Strafford thought to have saved his neck by sheltering it under the law—that a law did this, and by a law that was done—but the Parliament here knew very well how laws in subordinate Governments are compassed.”<sup>1</sup>

Then, after reviling Strafford in the grossest terms, waxing ever hotter, he concluded :

“ Strafford lost his head too, and he did not question but to see those, who sought to bring England under the same tyranny my Lord Strafford did, to have the same fate ”

—words, which must have had an ominous sound in the mouth of the great demagogue. Shaftesbury did not confine himself to menace. His knowledge of mankind doubtless told him that Ormonde would not be easily frightened from his position. And although Anthony Ashley Cooper would probably not have scrupled to apply the maxim of “ Stone dead hath no fellow ” to Strafford’s successor, less drastic methods were easier, and would, he realised, equally achieve their end. Of these milder means none was so effectual as procrastination ; and Shaftesbury and his allies, therefore, moved heaven and earth to defer the meeting of the Irish Parliament.<sup>2</sup> An unwritten law forbade the simultaneous session of Parliaments at Westminster and Dublin. If the meeting of the latter could be postponed until the former had assembled, the Irish Parliament would not legislate. Or, again, if meantime the intriguers achieved their main purpose, and could seat Essex once more in Ormonde’s chair, they felt they would have no cause to dread the decrees of an assembly which would then receive its directions from the Whig Earl.

Acting on this resolution, the Cabal contrived that every bill despatched for revision to England by the

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 351. Netterville to Earl of Longford, July 1680.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. pp. 609, 610.

Lord-Lieutenant and his Parliament, should be torn to shreds by hostile criticism. The preamble of one article was discovered to be faulty, the adjectives in another were inappropriate, while, in the drafting of a third, the Viceroy had taken unwarrantable liberties, actually forsaking the English model for one more adapted to Irish needs. It must, however, not be imagined that this subterranean campaign against Ormonde, was restricted to Council Board manœuvres, or to slander, adroitly insinuated into the royal ear. The blocking of Ormonde's intended legislation was certainly well calculated to retard the meeting of Parliament in Dublin. But there were two means of injuring Ormonde, which, often as they had previously been employed, were now again hopefully resumed by his antagonists: the first was the accusation of Popish proclivities; the second, of mismanagement of the Revenue.

With regard to the former charge, an amusing letter of Ormonde's shows that no fabrication seemed too improbable at this crisis to command the acceptance of the gullible multitude. Some wiseacre had, it appears, prepared an "article" against Ormonde, with sworn testimony to boot, accusing the Lord-Deputy of having received the Sacrament, after the Romish rite, at Lady Clancarty's.

"Now," said Ormonde, "though it may be as truly sworn that I was circumcised at Christchurch, and that few of any brains that know me, or have but a superficial account of my life will give credit to so incredible a forgery; yet, if it get into a narrative, thousands will swallow it as truth, and against this there is no fence. The credulous that trust in prints, will never hear or consider whether it be material or no, that I could have as many masses and sacraments as I had a mind to, brought mee, and more secretly, into my lodgings than to go anywhere abroad for them; that the laity never have the Sacrament given them (unless they are sick), but at Mass: that masses are never sayd, but in the morning, and I defie anybody to prove that ever I was to see my Sister this 20 years, but in an afternoon."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 153. Duke of Ormonde to Earl of Arran, 1st January 1680.

So much for the alleged Romanist practices. As to Ormonde's supposed financial mismanagement, Sir James Shaen, the chairman and spokesman of the Farmers of Revenue, was naturally delighted to complain of the strictness and inconvenience of the rules that the Duke had laid down to regulate the procedure of his Board. But for once, Shaen and his colleagues had over-reached themselves. For, on the objections being referred to the Irish Council, that body conclusively demonstrated the necessity of these rules in the interest both of the Crown and its subjects, to protect the former from fraud, the latter from extortion. Shaen was only acting after his nature—the nature of a Revenue Farmer. It is sad, however, to find the high-minded Essex so demoralised by personal ambition, that he actually blamed his successor for spending £700 in arming the militia, and £3,200 in taking preventive measures against the very rebellion which Essex himself and his party were never wearied of predicting.

Lord Essex stultified himself to scant purpose. No harm came to Ormonde from either accusation; and the Whigs were consequently obliged to fall back on other methods. Naturally enough, with Titus Oates's huge success before their eyes, they had recourse to his system, and set to work to organise delation in Ireland. Could they have obtained evidence of a Popish plot there, Ormonde's downfall was secured, since he had practically staked his reputation on its non-existence. To find a witness, who would stick to his tale under cross-examination was evidently the first step to their end, and accordingly, they began to ransack Ireland for this *rara avis*. Towards the close of 1679, they had already hoped to have found their man, in the person of one David Fitzgerald, who was so obliging as to accuse Lord Brittas, and various other harmless gentlemen, of planning a French invasion. Fitzgerald's evidence was, however, so flimsy that the accused were released on bail. Indeed, had they been brought to trial in Limerick, where the charges against them had a chance of being properly

sifted, their acquittal was a foregone conclusion, but this did not suit the ultra-Protestant party in England. The peaceful condition of Ireland was in standing contradiction of their assertions ; and, at all hazards, they were determined to prove that a Popish revolution was being planned across the Channel. Fitzgerald was, therefore, summoned to England, to be examined by the House of Commons' Committee, charged with the investigation of the plot. If he had played up to their expectations, Lord Brittas and his supposed accomplices would have been brought to London, and might have shared Plunket's fate. Happily for them, the informer finally lost heart and retracted his testimony.

At first sight, Fitzgerald's place cannot have seemed hard to fill. It was no mere gaol delivery that awaited the imprisoned Tory or the starving debtor, who could put together a story, however improbable, against his Catholic neighbour. The informer's travelling expenses were paid to England, where if he showed himself moderately capable of learning his lesson from Hetherington, Shaftesbury's agent, he was caressed and patronised by that worthy, and the Green Ribband Club.<sup>1</sup> In these circumstances, it is not extraordinary that many candidates for preferment were forthcoming, since the fashion of their return to their native land was an eloquent advertisement of the benefits of perjury. As Ormonde grimly remarked, "those that went out of Ireland, with bad English, and worse clothes, are returned well-bred gentlemen, well coronated, periwigged, and clothed. Brogues and leather straps are converted to fashionable shoes and glittering buckles ; which next to the zeal Tories, thieves, and friars have for the Protestant religion is the main inducement to bring in a shoal of informers, and they find it more honourable and safe to be the King's Evidence than a cowstealer, tho' that be their natural profession."<sup>2</sup>

It argues a certain simplicity in the interesting

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 625.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. v. p. 164. Duke of Ormonde to Earl of Arran, 17th November 1681.

creatures thus detailed, that although Golconda was within their reach, they should have been incapable of securing the proffered fortune. Even the proclamation for encouraging informers proved inadequate for its purpose; and the English Parliamentary Commissioners were reduced to despatching energetic persons to travel over Ireland to recruit witnesses. Of these bagmen of infamy, Ormonde remarked that their foolishness and villainy was such, that no schoolboy would trust them with a design

"for robbing of an orchard. My Lord of Essex's tool," he continued, "is a silly, drunken vagabond that cares not for hanging a month hence, if, in the meantime, he may solace himself with brandy and tobacco. Murphy is all out as debauched, but a degree wiser than the other. The other fellow brought by my Lord of Shaftesbury broke prison, being in execution, and now the sheriff and jailer are sued for the debt. If rogues they must be that discover robbery," he concludes, "these must be the best discoverers because they are the greatest rogues."<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the most vivid rascal of the lot was one Geoghegan, *alias* Dalton, an ex-friar. On landing at Youghal, Geoghegan's conversation seemed so questionable that he was promptly imprisoned for uttering treasonable words, and had to apply to the Lord-Lieutenant to obtain his release.<sup>2</sup> He proceeded to Dublin, exhibited his brief from the Commissioners, receiving £50 to defray his charges and a guard of six troopers. The plenary commission he boldly demanded, which would have given him the right to arrest anybody and everybody he might deem suspicious, the Council, however, excused themselves from granting. Certain powers of that nature, however, he did obtain, and on far too ample a scale, for scarcely had he left the Council Board before he began to give

"ill signs of his Temper and Conduct, having in the Open Street (his guard of horses about him) not only

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS., Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 302. Ormonde to Earl of Ossory, 12th April 1680.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 619.

whipped and beaten a Butcher about the price of a horse, but rid away with the horse, without making any agreement with the Butcher.”<sup>1</sup>

Geoghegan’s next performance was to descend, accompanied by eight horsemen and a piper playing before him, on one Fitzgerald’s house. The good man was not at home, but Geoghegan terrified Mrs Fitzgerald by clapping a pistol to her breast, and demanding the instant surrender of her husband.<sup>2</sup> Yet such was the consistency of the creature that, when he did chance to come across Fitzgerald, after a preliminary quarrel, he suddenly turned amiable and settled down to drink with the man he had come to arrest. In other cases, blackmail pure and simple wrought the deliverance of Geoghegan’s prisoners. Generally his tariff was higher for the priesthood than for the laity. One vicar he captured regained, however, not only his liberty but his chalice and box of oils by the timely payment of 32s. 6d. Where Geoghegan did not find money, he took what he could in kind—vestments, guns, books, nothing, in fact, coming amiss to him. Indeed, an auctioneer to dispose of the miscellaneous loot he gathered during his strange visitations would have been a more useful member of his little band than the piper. With regard to coin, his methods were summary. At one monastery, finding a little money in the brethren’s chests, which he had broken open, he bade the soldiers help themselves, saying it was a fine prize, and that if he could get hold of the friar’s corn he would distribute it amongst the poor.<sup>3</sup> But, despite such sentiments, Geoghegan, save in his predatory instincts, was no Robin Hood. The troopers of the seventeenth century were not remarkable for their mild behaviour or fastidious morality. Geoghegan’s escort had probably a greater affinity to Kirke’s “Lambs” than to

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxix. f. 148. Lord-Lieutenant and Council to Lord Sunderland, January 1680-1.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, f. 150. Examination of James Fitzgerald, 22nd December 1680.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, f. 158. Examination of the Troopers, 1st January 1680-1.

knight errants of romance, sworn to defend the weak and oppressed. Yet even these rough men felt constrained on more than one occasion to interpose between Geoghegan and the casual wayfarer or peasant, the inoffensive victims of the ex-friar's brutality. This was the more to the soldiers' credit, as he would then threaten them with the vengeance of King and Parliament, vowing to have them turned out of the army. They may, of course, have thought him mad. Indeed, after being made to sit on horseback in the town of Kildare firing pistols for two and a half hours consecutively, "upon what account," as they remarked, "we know not, he carrying a piper before us," they had some justification for such a belief. Still, even granting he was mad, he was evidently a dangerous lunatic, and they showed real courage in agreeing to "take no notice" of his eccentric commands. Nor can this resolution have been easy to keep, when without any provocation, Geoghegan suddenly flew at one of the escort, swearing that he would run the astonished soldier through the body. Nevertheless, to disregard Geoghegan and his vagaries was evidently the best policy, for, after this ebullition, the ex-friar betook himself to bed, with no better solace than beating an old man who happened to be sitting by the fireside.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the behaviour of Shaftesbury's deputy, and his performances might apparently have gone on for an indefinite time, had he not been so misguided as to extend the field of his operations. Growing bold with impunity, he no longer confined himself to harrying Romanists. He apprehended and carried off one Justice of the Peace, who was a staunch and zealous Protestant; he mulcted another of £30, while a third was forced to purchase his freedom for thirty "pieces of eight."<sup>2</sup> In conversation, Geoghegan was equally wanting in discretion. He openly gave out that should the Lord-Lieutenant dare to obstruct him, he, Geoghegan, "would have him over to England, and, maybe, make his head shake." In short, so

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xxxix. p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 162. Information of Gerald Nugent.

great was the extravagance of his conduct that the Irish Council either believed, or professed to believe, that he could only be actuated by a design to "cast a blemish upon the Plot." Thus, finally, Geoghegan found himself laid by the heels, Lord Sunderland's pleasure concerning the rascal being humbly supplicated by the Council. Happily for Ireland, it was Lord Sunderland's pleasure that Geoghegan should be committed to Newgate. Yet, even at that stage, when his "violence, debaucheries, and plain robberies" had been brought home to him, the authorities could not afford to neglect the information he chose to file against Lord Carlingford and Colonel Garett Moore, and on no better testimony than Geoghegan's, both these gentlemen were taken into custody.

The truth is, that at this juncture—as the careers of Oates and Bedloe amply demonstrated—no infamy disqualified witnesses from swearing away the lives of respectable citizens, if the latter chanced to be Papists. Had the Council flouted Geoghegan's information they might have rued their action. And, doubtless, the same prudential reasons accounted for Ormonde's decision, at this same period, to apprehend the O'Sullevan Beer and the O'Sullevan Moore. No accusation had been formulated against them. But, although they themselves had fallen on evil days, and were now the pensioners of their former vassals, as the heads of the two most powerful septs in Munster, they were still the natural leaders of their clans; nor would the clans have submitted tamely to their chieftains' imprisonment had a conspiracy been afoot. When these arrests were quietly effected, Ormonde was, therefore, more than ever convinced that the existence of the Popish plot in Ireland was confined to the imaginations of that country's ill-wishers.

During the summer of 1681, the pernicious legend of a widespread Irish conspiracy suffered, also, no little reduction through the proceedings at the Connaught assize.<sup>1</sup> A country squire and a schoolmaster, turncoats both, were here the principal informers. This charming pair, Henry

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 622.

Blake, and Timothy Dale by name, accused John Brown of Kinturke and Dermot O'Connor of having planned a French invasion with all its concomitant evils, including, of course, the establishment of Popery. The schoolmaster alleged that Dermot O'Connor had made use of Latin to discuss these treasonable projects—a language which Mrs O'Connor, who alone assisted at the interview between her husband and Dale, did not understand. This was almost a stroke of genius on Timothy's part. Unfortunately for him, however, his cunning began and ended with this solitary inspiration. The judges had been strictly charged by Ormonde to examine closely into the evidence for an insurrectionary scheme. The jury retained by the Sheriff were one and all "able and substantial Protestants," but the trial took place, not like Oliver Plunket's at the King's Bench, but at Galway, where the accused were well known. The judges themselves told Ormonde that the testimony, volunteered by "a cloud of witnesses, gentlemen of good quality, among them three or four ministers of the Gospel," effectually disposed of Timothy Dale's little romance. In fact, before long, the pedagogue was reduced to explain the contradictory nature of his statements, on the ground that he was frequently drunk. Blake's apology was even more remarkable. He finally declared that if on one occasion he had offered to swear that his charges were false and malicious, he had done so merely because a Mr Bodkin—who had, however, broken his word—had offered him a gratuity. Such an admission was scarcely calculated to inspire confidence in the speaker; and Blake's power of harmfulness was conclusively terminated when the said Bodkin got up in Court, indignantly repudiated the charge, and then and there produced witnesses to confirm his statement. The trial was over, and so speedy an acquittal did the "able and substantial Protestants" pronounce, that the Chief Justice doubted whether they had sat down to consider their verdict.

Ormonde's relief on receiving the judge's report must have been great, for the Connaught assize practically marked the close of the Popish Terror in Ireland. Yet

the triumph of these two men makes it all the sadder that the aged Archbishop of Armagh did not enjoy the advantage of being judged by his own countrymen and in his own countryside. Unhappily for him, he had a relentless prosecutor in Henry Jones, Cromwell's former scout-master, now Bishop of Meath, a prelate in whom hatred of Popery did service for religion. The Bishop was able to secure the transmission of the guiltless old man to London, where, subjected to the rigorous conditions awaiting those of his race, creed, and profession, his sentence was practically a foregone conclusion. Plunket, himself, declared that if he had been able to call Ormonde to give evidence on his behalf, he could easily have discomfited the lying renegades who pretended that he was privy to a French invasion of Ireland. But there was little chance of his obtaining the Lord - Lieutenant's testimony, when the witnesses he had summoned from Ireland were maliciously detained at Chester. Had it been otherwise, the name of Titus Oates's last victim might well be missing from that tragic roll.<sup>1</sup>

The Galway assize took place in 1681, and though it is difficult to believe that it could have had any other issue, yet it must be admitted that by then the morbid popular excitement, even in England, was subsiding. The King's dissolution of the Exclusionist Parliament at Oxford in the month of March, had already rung the knell of that party's supremacy. For the nation discovered that, when driven to bay, Shaftesbury and his lieutenants could do little but orate and bluster, and henceforward, Charles's triumph was assured.

The King's policy had been neither courageous nor candid ; but he had known to a nicety when to bow to the tempest which secretly he was conjuring. And certainly never were dilatory tactics more justified by events. Innocent men suffered on the scaffold, but the King did not go again on his travels ; and, before he died, Charles had brought back the country to a loyalty so fervent that it needed all his successor's stupidity to undo his work.

<sup>1</sup> Prendergast, "The Tory War of Ulster," p. 25.

If, from the hour of the Oxford *coup d'état*, however, the ultimate victory lay with the King, it is probable that, for all his shrewdness, Charles himself did not gauge its extent. At any rate, he carefully abstained from allowing the Whig lords to suspect that he cherished any regard for Ormonde, or that he would champion the Duke against their attacks. Indeed, so absolutely did he feign indifference with regard to Ormonde, that he seems eventually to have feared that the Lord-Lieutenant would take the part he was playing in sober earnest. Had Ormonde, despairing of the Sovereign's support, been driven to resign his office at that juncture, Charles would have been sorely exercised to replace his devoted services. In April 1681, therefore, the King thought it advisable to send him a message of encouragement by one who could be trusted not to disclose the fact that the Monarch was corresponding on confidential terms with his Viceroy. Of the many strange episodes of that period, perhaps none is more curious than this stealthy mission despatched by the Sovereign to the most responsible of his officers of State. And that Ormonde, no less than Charles, appreciated the necessity of caution, is proved by the fact that the Lord-Lieutenant did not attempt to answer the letter, until, three months later, the return of the same messenger, FitzPatrick, enabled him to do so with security. Brief as Charles's epistle was, at any rate, it was explicit.

"The impertinent and groundless report being now revived again of your being recalled, is the pure invention of your enemies and mine, there never having been the least occasion given for such a report. For I assure you I value your services there too much to think of any alteration.

"This bearer, FitzPatrick, will tell you more at large, and give you good account how all are here. And therefore I will say no more only to assure you that you may be as much assured of my kindness to you, as I am of yours; which is all I can say.

CHARLES REX."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 160. The King to the Duke of Ormonde, 22nd April 1681.

Ormonde's reply was characteristic.

"Your Majesty's letter of the 22nd of April last, by this bearer, though it had no return till now, had all the effect your goodness and favour to me designed. It gave me perfect quiet and satisfaction of mind, and encouragement to proceed in your service with all the vigour time hath left me, and with all the faithfulness no time can alter or take from me.

"And I beseech Your Majesty, not to believe that the assurance you are pleased to give me, that my removal from this post was not in your thought, is that which most affects me, but the belief you were pleased to express, that I set before me the performance of my duty to the Crown with all humble and passionate affection to Your person. As to the station Your Majesty has put me in, it is a burden that is, or (if I may flatter myself to think it is not yet) will shortly be past my strength to bear. And it is very like that Your Majesty will sooner discover when it is so than I shall; for it is one, and not the least of those infirmities age brings with it, to think itself capable of what it is not. . . . When it shall come to that in my case, or whenever Your Majesty shall think fit to give me a successor, I most humbly beg I may receive the first information of the purpose from Your own hand, which has been so bountiful, that nothing unwelcome or uneasy in that matter can, at any time, come from it to me.

"This kingdom," he continued, "improves visibly, and it is improved beyond what could have been reasonably hoped for in the space of 20 years. Nor can anything but a civil war, or some other of God's national judgements, stop the career of prosperity it is in, and yet," said Ormonde, prudently mindful, perhaps, of the needs of royal favourites, "our affluence is not so great as to become our disease."<sup>1</sup>

Trade statistics undoubtedly show that Ormonde's cheerful report of the erstwhile distressful country was no compliment to flatter the royal ear. Few modern writers in commenting on this fact have failed to ascribe the larger share in this happy change to Ormonde; nor were the majority of his contemporaries wanting in

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 160. Ormonde to the King, Kilkenny, 22nd July 1681.

recognition of the Duke's efforts to advance and foster industry. They were aware that these efforts were two-fold, consisting both in an ungrudging expenditure of time, money, and thought, and in an administration careful to impart that sense of security which is the very corner stone of national prosperity. Yet, when Sir James Shaen's lease for collecting the Irish Revenue was about to expire, and future arrangements were being discussed by the English Parliament, there was no question of referring the new proposals to the Lord-Lieutenant. Moreover, Charles, though present at the debates, did not suggest that it might be advisable to consult the Viceroy on a matter for which he would ultimately be made responsible. And it was left to Lord Ranelagh to announce the impending settlement to Ormonde. Insult was thus added to injury, and it is clear that the Duke was deeply conscious of the unfairness of these proceedings to himself and his government. In writing to Arran he made no mystery of his feelings.

"With a letter of the 12th from my Lord of Ranelagh," he told his son, "I received the heads of the new contract and his papers of objections. I did not expect that I should, from him, have had the first information of a transaction wherein this kingdom and myself in all my capacities are so deeply concerned; nor can I forbear to say that no Government under the Crown of England has ever been so much slighted and affronted as this has been in the whole course of that affair, that is if the matter shall be finally concluded without imparting it to us, whilst others less concerned and less knowing are determining our safety or destruction."<sup>1</sup>

If Ormonde's enemies trusted to this scurvy treatment to force him out of office, they were, however, disappointed. Aggrieved, and justly aggrieved though he was, Ormonde was too deeply imbued with the spirit of selfless service to let himself be jockeyed, on a personal issue, out of the post he was holding for the forces of order and good

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. vi. p. vii., introduction to vol. vi. Ormonde to Arran, 28th November 1681.

government. He did not even seek to salve his feelings by indulging in grandiloquent phrases. Any one, he remarked, who imagined that he would quit the Government, because he did not like the King's financial arrangements, must think "him a very giddy old fellow, and a very silly, undutiful ass."

The spring of 1681 in Ireland is mainly memorable for the death of Redmond O'Hanlon. Worshipped by the peasantry during his lifetime, the memory of this famous Tory captain long remained enshrined in the traditions of the Ulster countryside. Indeed, it is a loss for literature that the "Irish Scanderbeg" did not find a bard worthy of his exploits. Redmond O'Hanlon, defying the forces of the Crown in the mountains of Mourne, is no whit inferior in personality or setting to those who have made poetry for the ages—the gentle outlaw of Sherwood, or "bold Murray of the Forest free" in Ettrick. It is a matter for regret that Redmond belonged to a century rather concerned with the making of laws than of ballads.

Of the origin of the Tory bands, those same laws, the great territorial confiscations of the last thirty years, too much has already been said. Redmond O'Hanlon's antecedents have never been thoroughly ascertained, but, like his forerunner, Dudley Costello, he had probably good cause to wage war on the Anglo-Saxon. Mr Prendergast<sup>1</sup> suggests that a certain Hugh O'Hanlon, who claimed, and vainly claimed, restoration as an innocent, on the ground that he was only two and a half years old at the time of the rebellion, may have been Redmond's elder brother. If the surmise is correct, the experience was certainly one to steel Redmond's heart against the so-called justice of his country. Though, on the other hand, it is only fair to say that he must eventually have repaid with usury any injuries he or his suffered at the hands of the English intruders.

Twelve years had passed since Dudley Costello's head was placed on the Castle Gate. Yet the Tories

<sup>1</sup> Prendergast, "The Tory War of Ulster," p. 30.

remained a chronic affliction to the Dublin Government. Nor were agricultural immigrants the sole victims of the ubiquitous raiders. The majority of these expropriators were indistinguishable from the autochthonous cowstealer. But there were others whose operations were conducted on a more ambitious scale. Foremost amongst this latter section, were the three Brennans,<sup>1</sup> who, it was computed, had plundered the King's subjects of £18,000 during the two years they were "out." Captured and condemned to death, they contrived to escape and ship themselves and their "delicate" (*i.e.*, well-bred) horses to Chester.<sup>2</sup> Here, it is true, they were arrested and conveyed, heavily shackled, to prison. The prisons of England, like those of Ireland, could not, however, hold the Brennans. As Arran bitterly remarked, such opulent thieves could have little difficulty in buying themselves out of gaol; and the next year saw them breaking into Kilkenny Castle and triumphantly carrying off the Duke's plate. This was not the last of their adventures. Twelve months later they were solemnly taken under his protection by the Lord-Deputy. In return for this act of grace they had, of course, promised to show a tale of their fellow Tories' heads. And they must have kept their pledge, for as the best means of putting down robbery and felony in the country the Grand Jury of Kilkenny petitioned that their protection might be made permanent. The old adage that a reformed poacher makes the best gamekeeper was evidently not unheeded in Tipperary.

Redmond O'Hanlon belonged to the same type of Tory as the Brennan brotherhood, with the saving distinction that he utterly declined to barter his life and freedom against those of his confederates.

"Being a scholar and a man of parts," as a contemporary somewhat quaintly puts it, "he managed his

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. clxix. ff. 18-9. Arran to Ormonde, 6th November 1683.

<sup>2</sup> Prendergast, "The Tory War of Ulster," pp. 3-4.

villainy with such conduct that he became a formidable enemy, kept two or three counties almost waste, making the peasants pay continued contributions. So terrible was he in the northern parts that there was no travelling without convoy."<sup>1</sup>

Throughout Essex's viceroyalty, he was a thorn in the side of the administration, and during three years, he eluded all Ormonde's efforts to capture him. The authorities' time-honoured methods were utterly unavailing when practised against O'Hanlon. Priests and people were alike his dutiful, though secret, militia. False brethren, it is true, there were in O'Hanlon's band, as in that of every Tory leader; and an unholy alliance between one of these traitors, Cormac O'Murphy, and Edmund Murphy, parish priest and titular Chanter of Armagh, did nearly prove Redmond's undoing. Both men harboured grudges against O'Hanlon. Cormac's grievance was of a commonplace order, connected with blackmail, whereas Edmund Murphy's was, at least, peculiar. It appears that the chief had threatened that any follower of his who went to a preaching of Murphy's should forfeit one cow for the first, two cows for the second, and his life for a third attendance. To dare such penalties for the joy of sitting under the titular Chanter, argues an almost morbid devotion for sermons. Nevertheless, one Tory there was possessed of this fatal passion. He went not once, but twice, and in due course was mulcted of two cows. O'Hanlon was not a person to trifle with. But, what orator, lay or clerical, would tamely submit to his audience being taxed away from him? Murphy naturally vowed vengeance, and with O'Connor's assistance proceeded to lime a pretty trap for Redmond. The excuse for a meeting was provided by Cormac, who, in return for his own arms, confiscated by Redmond, offered to restore some goods he had stolen from one of O'Hanlon's protégés. Murphy undertook to do the rest, furnishing the bait, "brandy and hot waters," and meantime warning

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 617. Sir T. Brewster to "a friend."

Captain Butler and a *posse* of soldiers to be at hand to seize the rebel.<sup>1</sup>

On this occasion, it was neither the watchful devotion of his adherents, nor his own good sword that kept Redmond's head. The Government, or rather the Government's legislation, saved him. Before the meeting took place, the stolen goods—the sole occasion of the parley—were retrieved by the sufferer under the "Tory Acts." There was no further reason for the tryst, and when the unwearied Murphy engineered another decoy, again some accident preserved Redmond. The Government, who had suffered from his depredations for ten long years may well have thought that Redmond O'Hanlon bore a charmed existence. Yet skilful as he was, Redmond had the good sense to realise that he must not presume on his luck. Other Tories, having collected their passage money and equipment, either with the express permission, or the connivance, of the Government, had finally shipped themselves off to France out of harm's way. O'Hanlon ardently desired to follow their example, and instituted negotiations towards that end. All is strange in the life of the mysterious Count O'Hanlon, but certainly not least that the ultra-Protestant Bishop of Meath should have assumed the office of intercessor for the Catholic outlaw with the Privy Council. It is true that Redmond, himself, was not in direct communication with the militant prelate. Like a genuine hero of fiction, he confided his cause to a woman's hands, the lady whose help he evoked being none other than the Bishop's daughter, Mrs Annesley.

The riddle is hard to read, though Sir Hans Hamilton, who intercepted the correspondence between Mrs Annesley and the Bishop on one side, and Mrs Annesley and O'Hanlon's mother-in-law on the other, brutally ascribed Mrs Annesly's attitude to bribery pure and simple; and it is not unreasonable to conclude that if the Brennans had amassed £18,000 in two and a half years, a whole decade of industry should have enabled O'Hanlon to reward a

<sup>1</sup> Prendergast, "The Tory War of Ulster," p. 20.

benefactress. Prendergast's chivalrous theory that Mrs Annesly was actuated by entirely disinterested motives may, however, be well founded. Pity has been responsible for alliances equally incongruous. With regard to the Bishop, we may safely dismiss such sentimental considerations. The old scoutmaster was moved solely by one passion—hatred of Romanists and Romanism. At this juncture, moreover, he was absorbed in tracing home to the Irish Catholics, generally, and to Oliver Plunket, in particular, a plot for the invasion of Ireland by seventy thousand Papistical French soldiers. Had Redmond been willing to foreswear himself for the Bishop's benefit, Jones would have strained every nerve to obtain not merely a pardon, but a reward for so useful a witness. Redmond was, however, a gentlemanly bandit. The Prelate got no assistance from him in his prosecutions. O'Hanlon preferred to range Slieve Gullion, with a price of £200 on his head.

Such was Redmond O'Hanlon, a law unto himself, and a law that frequently contrasted favourably with that of the high authorities in the land. Nevertheless, it would be unreasonable to expect that the head of the Government of the day should have viewed Count O'Hanlon through the glamour of romance, which has gathered round him in the course of centuries. Indeed, had he done so, Ormonde would have been a very faulty administrator. Law and order in Tyrone or Down were clearly incompatible with the presence of Redmond O'Hanlon. He had to go. And if Ormonde had allowed him to depart in peace, the effect of such lenity would have been deplorable. In the interests of the country at large, Ormonde could only speed Redmond for the bourne whence no traveller returns, and, accordingly, the Duke took steps to secure his removal. The widespread nature of O'Hanlon's influence—revealed in Mrs Annesley's correspondence—whether due to good or evil causes, showed that success hinged on inviolate secrecy. During several months, therefore, Ormonde feigned to have forgotten O'Hanlon's existence, and with regard to any intentions he

might harbour against Redmond, he preserved an unbroken silence. Meanwhile he was carefully laying his plans, and when these were matured, with his own hand, the Duke drew up instructions and commission for the two men entrusted with the perilous task. A certain Mr Lucas was Ormonde's principal agent in the matter, but the receipt of the reward of £100 to Arthur O'Hanlon, "for killing the Torie, Redmond O'Hanlon," verifies the story now revealed by the Historical Manuscripts Report that the hand of one of his own race helped to do the deed.<sup>1</sup> It appears that on April the 25th, 1681, as the Count and "Art" were smoking together near Eight Mile Bridge, a squabble gave the traitor his opportunity. Redmond, saying that "Art should be no longer a Tory in any of the three Counties," Art replied, "I am very glad and will go just now," and immediately shot O'Hanlon with his carbine. He then fled across the Bridge, invoked, and, thanks to Lucas's pass, obtained the protection of the English guard stationed there, returning in triumph to carry off the body of Redmond, from which the head was already severed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Prendergast, "The Tory War of Ulster," p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS., "Report," vol. vii. app. 747-9.

## CHAPTER XI

### ORMONDE AND HIS GRANDCHILDREN

ORMONDE'S conduct after his son's death amply justified Arlington's assurance that Ossory's wishes regarding his will and children would be "over secured" by the Duke. It proved quite unnecessary for Arlington to press Ormonde to increase Emilia's jointure, still less to urge the Duke to befriend the orphans. In answer to his first suggestion on this subject, Ormonde pathetically replied :

" I have in this world no business of my own belonging to the world, but to provide for his (Ossory's) widow and fatherless children. All I have, or shall have, is and (I trust in God) will be theirs, and I wish for their own sake I had been a better manager than I have been. My son's kindness to his wife, and his care of her, increases my value of him, and my sorrow for him ; and I am glad he expressed it so frequently when he thought upon that sad hour that is come upon us. But there was no other need of it than the manifestation of his good nature ; for I am ready to do for her whatever she or her friends can wish, knowing that who are her friends, must be her childrens'."<sup>1</sup>

With Ossory's death Emilia disappears from our ken. Even in her mother-in-law's epistles there is no further reference to the poor lady and her feckless ways. But the education of Lord James, as Ossory's eldest son was generally designated, fills an ever increasing space in his grandfather's correspondence. This, it should be said, was no new interest to Ormonde. During one of the most

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 186. Duke of Ormonde to Earl of Arlington, Kilkenny, 9th August 1680.

crucial phases of the Popish Plot, Ormonde confessed that he gave the boy's concerns more thought "than a wise man would in such a conjuncture."<sup>1</sup> Already during Ossory's lifetime, the direction of the lad's studies had been constantly referred to the Duke, who, indeed, defrayed the not inconsiderable bills for the keep, journeys, lessons, and clothes of the said Lord James. If there is safety in a multitude of counsellors, he should have been the best educated youth of the period. Lord Arlington, Sir Robert Southwell, and the Bishop of Oxford all had their say on the momentous subject of his training; although, as sometimes happens, these high authorities were seldom agreed on the course of action to be adopted. Arlington was characteristically desirous that James should be early apprenticed to the courtly profession, a scheme that Ormonde as energetically opposed. Failing the Whitehall curriculum, the Lord Chamberlain advocated a French Academy, a suggestion to which Ormonde was not unfriendly, though he was more wholeheartedly in favour of sending the boy to the University of Oxford.

Undoubtedly, the visit Lord James paid to France in 1675 was not calculated to convert Ormonde to the superior advantages of a continental residence for his grandson. On this occasion, it was mainly in search of health that Lord James had gone to the south in company with a French tutor, De L'Ange, or Lange by name. Whether Ormonde took any part in the selection of the boy's mentor, history does not relate. But the choice was not fortunate. Lange sequestered the Hope of the Butlers' at his own native place, Orange, whence for many months, little news, save in the shape of bills, was received of the travellers. The Duke might accuse himself of possessing an intelligence "that lay very crass" to finance, but his native good sense, reinforced by the practical knowledge of the cost of living abroad which he had acquired by somewhat painful personal experience, told him that it

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. ii. p. 284. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, Dublin, 1st March 1679.



*Photo, Fox, Greenhough & Co.]*

JAMES, 2ND DUKE OF ORMONDE.

*From a picture at Kilkenny Castle.*

[To face p. 334 (vol. ii)]



was absurd that the housekeeping of a boy of ten, in so remote a place as Orange, should average from £1,300 to £1,400 a year. His suspicions were confirmed by Mr Barrington,<sup>1</sup> the gentleman he finally despatched to Orange to report on the mode of living of Lange and his charge. "Lord James," said Barrington, "was kept shamefully low and wanting of clothes and all necessarys." It transpired that although the lad's retinue consisted merely of "*a valet de chambre*, a page and two footmen, without coch or hors," yet during the last nine months Lange had drawn on the Duke for £1,000. "And this," said Ormonde with pardonable indignation, "at Orange, where wine is sold for 1d. a quart, and all other things notably cheap." Moreover, as the Duke remarked, expense apart, "a shark" was not a desirable guardian for ingenuous youth, and James must be promptly transferred to more worthy keeping.

In this dilemma, Ormonde's most helpful confidant seems to have been his staunch old friend, Sir Robert Southwell. Probably, the worthy baronet was the better able to sympathise with Ormonde since he too had gone through a similar experience. A foreign tour was an integral part of a gentleman's education in the seventeenth century. Southwell, being a most conscientious guardian, had accordingly despatched his nephew and ward, Sir Philip Perceval, abroad to polish his manners and perfect his languages under the guidance of a "sanctified Frenchman." Unluckily, the latter proved

"such a shark, that of six crowns presented to the Minister at Angers for the use of the poor, he robbed four, and yet in my lifetime," said Sir Robert, "did I never see bills so minutely drawn and sent over, even to five sous from that hand. I am apt to think," he concludes, "if my Lord James, his expenses, came at Orange in so little time to £1,000, it was a greater sight than ever that town saw before."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Forster MSS., vol. ii. p. 7. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, Kilkenny.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 449. Sir R. Southwell to Ormonde, 27th September 1678.

His previous acquaintance with the genus "shark" perhaps helped to steel Sir Robert's heart against Lange's specious representations. And it may have been his arguments that made the family council at Arlington House,<sup>1</sup> send instructions to Mr Barrington, Ossory's envoy, to remove Lord James "from that uncouth and desolate place Orange."<sup>2</sup> The news that the boy had narrowly escaped being burnt to death in the bed which he shared with his tutor, did not tend to shake this resolution. Vainly did Lange declare that the fire was "an accident"—an odd excuse—and that "to save my Lord James, harmless as he was, he had severely burnt his hands and feet." Southwell, at any rate, was no more softened by the tutor's glowing account of his heroic exploits than by Lord James's postscript to the letter "signifying his escape, and magnifying the care of Monsieur de Lange." On the contrary, although it would have been the natural arrangement to allow the tutor to accompany his pupil on his homeward journey, Sir Robert urged that Lange should be "turned off" at Orange. He gave the best reasons, moral and prudential, for this advice, which was evidently not unconnected with the suspicion that, whatever had been his past misconduct, if Lange got as far as England, he would inevitably become "an encumbrance" to the too-generous Duke. Moreover, as he pointed out, if Lange was retained in his position, he must be trusted to pay the scores he had run up at Orange. Yet "if the money light in his hand" it seemed fairly certain that these would never be discharged. Therefore, magisterially said Southwell,

"Your Grace could not fix a more just mortification upon him or acquit yourself better in the opinion of the good people there than to discharge him in that very place, now your Grace comes to know what he is."

Southwell's arguments prevailed. Lange was dismissed, and Barrington escorted Lord James to England,

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 451. Sir R. Southwell to Ormonde, 3rd September 1678.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.* Sir R. Southwell to Ormonde, 3rd September 1678.

pausing in Paris to provide his young lordship with clothes, and the servants with liveries. All their wardrobes stood in need of replenishing; for Lange, said Barrington, "had left them almost naked," save for a few things he, Barrington, bought at Orange "to keep them warm." These deficiencies the new governor, however, quickly remedied, assuring Ormonde that his grandson would return "with all things necessary for one of his age and birth,"<sup>1</sup> a pledge amply redeemed, since the Duke later complained bitterly of the sums expended on James's trousseau.

The end of the year found the wanderer restored to the bosom of his family, every one declaring themselves "justly charmed with him," for, "besides his being a very fine lad in appearance," wrote Southwell, "he has an understanding beyond his years."<sup>2</sup> This report was doubtless welcome to Sir Robert's correspondent, but it did not diminish the Duke's desire to remove a precocious, observant youth of thirteen from his actual surroundings. In this opinion he was confirmed by Barrington. A good economist Barrington was not, but neither was he wanting in common-sense; and on all accounts he deplored the lengthened stay at Whitehall. Lord James, he wrote, was growing very fat, purely from want of exercise. Tennis and dancing and walks could doubtless replace these, in a measure, when, and only when, the weather was fine, for our ancestors, unprovided with umbrellas and water-proofs, disliked rain far more than do their descendants. But other matters were beyond the poor Governor's skill to remedy; and from the depths of an anxious heart he assured Ormonde that he was longing for his commands to remove:

"Your Grace well knowing that this is a very unfit place for education, by reason of the great liberties and those many indecencies that are allowed in this Court,

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 238. R. Barrington to Ormonde, 18th November 1678.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 469. Sir R. Southwell to Ormonde, 31st December 1678.

neither is there here any company befitting either his birth or age."<sup>1</sup>

Here was plain speaking. The pity was that this language addressed to Ormonde somewhat resembled preaching to the converted.

Perhaps the chief cause of the protracted sojourn at Whitehall was the inability of Lord James's affectionate parents and relatives to settle on a school or college worthy of housing him. Counsels of perfection—and none other would suit the conclave at Arlington House—are difficult of attainment. Even the sensible Southwell was not much wiser in this respect than Arlington or Ossory. He declared that after "beating out his brains," the only governor he could suggest was a certain Mr Henshaw, who, "taking him in all respects, is the fittest man to be Governor to a prince."<sup>2</sup> Since Henshaw had with difficulty been persuaded to accept the post of minister to Denmark, Arlington may well have wondered that Southwell should have thought of him for Lord James's bearleader. Yet, strange to say, the former envoy would have accepted the post had he not, at that juncture, been absorbed in the marriage of his daughter, or, rather, in the negotiations for her marriage settlement.

All his life through, faithful to his ideals as he remained, Ormonde had ever been ready to compromise on details. In carrying on the "King's Government" this unusual combination had proved of inestimable value, enabling him to succeed where a man of less integrity and less sense of proportion must needs have failed. In the matter of Lord James's education, these characteristics were again apparent. To obtain the boy's removal from the pernicious atmosphere of the Court, Ormonde was ready to waive his own predilections regarding any particular residence or course of studies.

"I do not conceive," he wrote to Ossory, "Whitehall to be a good place to breed up the youth of either sex

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 303. R. Barrington to Ormonde, 20th September 1680.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 456. Sir R. Southwell to Ormonde.

in, so that my opinion in the first place is that he stay no longer there than till after Christmas is done, and I wish that even in that time he do not contract some ill habits and obstinacy to retain them, to prevent which he ought to have a governour given him immediately, without whom he should not make a step, and for whom he should have reverence and awe as being entirely left to his direction and correction. After Christmas, there are but two places to send him to—Oxford or Paris—which I leave to your choice. At Oxford I do not know what he can learn, since I do not find he is inclined to the learning of the place, but he will be there kept to college discipline, diet, and hours strictly, if he be under the care of the Bishop of the place for a year or two, after which he may be returned to France. This may have other conveniences in this conjuncture, and, for aught I ken, the sending him to Paris some inconvenience at such a time, when very small circumstances serve the turn to induce important consequences. Yet all that I waive, and am not against his return to Paris as soon as the holidays are over, to enter into an academy, or come to learn his exercises there as an externe. Let this and his equipage be as you and his governour agree upon it, still remembering that I will be but at a £1,000 a year charge.”<sup>1</sup>

A fortnight later, Ormonde returned to the subject, reiterating the assurance that the choice between an English or a French education rested entirely with Ossory. Nevertheless, he left his son in no doubt as to his own opinion.

“I know,” said the Duke, “you are no admirer of Oxford education, yet the Bishop of that place is an admirable man, and it looks as if English acquaintance and customs might prove more useful than a more refined way of breeding, and yet that may prove well recovered a year or two hence. Somewhere,” he urged, “let him be under stricter discipline, and better example than Whitehall afforded in my time.”<sup>2</sup>

The Duke’s exhortations were not fruitless. At the

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 269. Ormonde to Ossory, 10th December 1678.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 289. Ormonde to Ossory, 24th December 1678.

beginning of the New Year, Ormonde was able to inform the "admirable Bishop" of Oxford, Dr John Fell, that James was to be committed to his care. Ormonde told the Bishop that his main reasons for sending the lad to Oxford were to secure his being thereby

"confirmed and perfectly instructed in the religion professed, practised, and best taught in that University, wherein is comprehended the principles of honour, virtue, and loyalty; next because your Lordship is there to direct his way of living and studies, and to supervise the conduct of him and those that you shall think fit to be about him, and in the last place I send him thither as the best testimony I have yet been able to give the University of my affection and gratitude for the honours they have on all occasions done me."<sup>1</sup>

Such were the credentials that the Duke's "greatest treasure"—as the courtly prelate called Lord James—carried with him to Christ Church. The mode of the young man's life, his education, his domestics, and even his clothes provided matter for a copious correspondence between Sir Robert Southwell and the Bishop. Lord James was formally placed under his reverend lordship's wing, and Fell undertook to find a tutor, "one who may inspire a little Latin and mathematics with most facility," his choice eventually falling on Aldrich, the future Dean of Christ Church. The youth did not go unattended to college. Indeed, the doubts mildly hazarded by Ormonde as to the necessity of so great a retinue were not unwarranted. The governor elect, Monsieur Drelincourt, a French minister, was reputed "a person of very good endowments."<sup>2</sup> Hitherto his chief title to fame had consisted in a volume of pious lucubrations on Death—a somewhat unusual qualification, perhaps, for the guardianship of a lively young gentleman. Under Drelincourt's orders were a *valet de chambre*, a page, two footmen, and a groom to look after the saddle horses.

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 306. Ormonde to John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, 20th January 1678-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 314. Sir R. Southwell to Bishop of Oxford, February 1678-9.

On what system these attendants had been selected we do not know; but the Bishop might well hope that “the servants would be such whom much leisure might not spoil.” Attendants and board wages being duly specified, next arose the question of lodgings.<sup>1</sup> Of these the boy could scarcely complain, since he was allotted the very suite of rooms Charles I. had occupied at Christ Church during the Civil Wars. The hangings for my Lord’s anteroom and bed-chamber caused, however, no little anxiety to the Bishop. The great height of the rooms made it necessary to have 8 and 10 feet curtains and draperies, and Fell thought that they had better be sent from London.<sup>2</sup> If this proved inconvenient, the good man offered himself to see what Oxford could furnish, though he warned Southwell that

“the furniture here is such as may suit with philosophers and not princes. The materials for a gown,” he continued, “must not be forgot, this place not supplying what will be fit for my Lord to wear. That kind of silk which they call brocade is used by our noblemen, and the trimming is only gold and silver buttons and loops; 6 dozen are used to put on.”

These weighty matters being adjusted, a fortnight later Drelincourt was enabled to announce the party’s installation at Christ Church.

We hear a good deal about the inadequacy of modern education, but it throws a vivid light on our ancestors’ methods, to find that Lord James, aged thirteen and a half, was only just beginning to cope with the mysteries of the multiplication table. It is true that Drelincourt hoped that his pupil would soon be promoted to counting *les nombres les plus grands*, humbly adding that he trusted this accomplishment would not be useless *à une personne de sa qualité*. Nor—due subtraction made of his hopes—can it be said that Drelincourt’s report of Lord James’s

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 314. Sir Robert Southwell to Bishop of Oxford, 1st February, 1678-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 319. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, to Sir R. Southwell, 6th February 1678-9.

general knowledge was very enthusiastic. Independently of the multiplication table—dignified by the appellation of *les mathématiques*—Lord James had forgotten his Latin, could write but little, owing to a weak wrist, and had scarcely been initiated into the elements of history and geography.<sup>1</sup> The task confronting Drelincourt and Aldrich did not promise to be a sinecure; and if they did their duty, the tutorial department of Lord James's household, at any rate, would scarcely eat the bread of idleness.

At this period, Lord James was a bright, good-natured lad, very fond of riding, and equally averse to "mathematics," with a marvellously thick crop of hair, his good looks only marred by a tendency to corpulence.<sup>2</sup> Considering the stock of which he came, Drelincourt had perhaps some grounds for the grandiose assertion that inclinations to virtue, piety, and the untranslatable French *honnêteté* had been communicated to Lord James "at his illustrious birth," though amidst the boy's actual surroundings, it was no slight effort to foster these qualities. Ossory assured Ormonde that he had given his son plenty of good advice before he departed to Oxford. He confessed, however, that remembering how little such admonitions had affected him at a similar age, he was not sanguine of their effect on James. The sailor earl's philosophy was doubtless founded on a knowledge of boy nature, but he forgot the essential difference between his own and his son's upbringing. Ossory had graduated in the wholesome school of adversity. His excellent education was obtained only at the cost of heavy sacrifices to his parents. These were not circumstances to foster vanity or arrogance, while, on the other hand, Lord James's circle conspired to place him on a pinnacle which might well have turned an older head. Even the admirable Bishop doubted whether Ossory's heir could achieve existence amidst

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., p. 331. Rev. Peter Drelincourt to Ormonde, 27th February 1678-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. v. p. 130. Drelincourt to Ormonde, 14th June 1679.

philosophic upholstery. Sir Robert Southwell, too, despite his impeccable advice, must indirectly have contributed to the same impression, by regarding a man of Henshaw's eminence as alone competent to teach the young jackanapes his multiplication table. It is true that Ormonde, for whom the boy had a proper reverence, talked a very different language.

"I warn you," he told James, "that if any body shall go about to flatter you with your parts, birth or fortune that you look upon them as your greatest enemies, and that you still remember that though you may be above some in these things, yet there are many that are your equals, and many more that are above you; and that if there were not, yet all those qualifications are but trappings, that the more expose you to contempt, unless you fit yourself to them by civility, humanity, and affability to all sorts of people according to their degrees and merit."<sup>1</sup>

Unluckily, although Ormonde considered James his "principal domestic care," his public duties made it impossible for the Lord-Lieutenant to bring that continuous influence to bear on the youth which might have supplied what was hereafter so notably lacking in the brilliant personality of the second Duke of Ormonde.<sup>2</sup> As for Drelincourt it would be unjust to class him with the "sanctified sharks," from whom Lord James had already suffered, though neither was he of the stuff of which George Buchanans are made. For so careful was Drelincourt not to offend a pupil, on whose favour his fortunes probably hinged, that when his young Lordship in a rage, "struck him, and rouged him like a lackey . . . he brooked all much rather than let go his hold."<sup>3</sup> Thus habitually surrounded by sycophants, when Lord James began to mingle in general society, and found that "other noblemen's sons did not study to humour

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. pp. 214-5. Ormonde to Lord James Butler, Kilkenny, 27th September 1679.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 289. Ormonde to Ossory, 24th December 1678.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 550. Southwell to Ormonde, 18th October 1679.

him as he expected," he naturally "grew very forward and uneasy."

Nevertheless, all might yet have gone well had Lord James been exhorted to good humour, either by his governor or his attendants. But, according to Southwell, preceptor and lackeys alike

"helped to aggravate every trivial thing, thereby hoping to get away into France where their thoughts were placed, so that he seemed to brook very ill his station and condition at Oxford, and chose rather to have about him small companions that would please him, than any others."

Here was the very condition of affairs that Ormonde had wished to prevent. Of course, it was impossible for Lord James, whilst living at Christ Church and dining in Hall, entirely to sequester himself amongst his young toadies. He was forced to meet and to know more independent spirits; although it must be confessed that this compulsory widening of acquaintances was not at first attended with unalloyed success. Amongst the young persons who showed no inclination to defer to my lord was a son of Lord Berkeley. Until Lord James's advent he had borne the character of a "well tempered and tractable youth"; but before the newcomer had been a month at college, a quarrel arose between them, which their common tutor, Aldrich, remarked would have been no great matter "if no *children* but themselves had interposed . . . but being well husbanded bred a great deal of disturbance."<sup>1</sup> Briefly, Drelincourt, with more zeal than discretion, took up the cudgels on his pupil's behalf. For on Lord James's complaining of Berkeley's behaviour the pastor could find no better remedy for his charge's alleged wrongs than then and there to rush off and waylay "the child," Berkeley, as he came out of nine o'clock prayers. The lad being alone, Drelincourt had it much his own way. He caught hold of Berkeley, ran him up

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 12. Rev. H. Aldrich to Sir R. Southwell, 13th March 1679.

against the wall, and, after giving his denials of misconduct the lie direct, he dealt him "four or five hearty boxes on the ear, such as might well pass for a handsell." Further castigation was probably only averted by the approach of some young scholars, who dashed to their comrade's rescue, and a general "scuffle" would have ensued had not an elder in authority made a timely appearance. Other "ill circumstances" on Drelincourt's part, Aldrich tartly observed that he omitted, "as they would look like a libel upon any that was out of long clothes."

As Aldrich had anticipated, Ossory, ever the soul of courtesy, received this "foul story" with all imaginable resentment. Ormonde was no less displeased.

"I was as much scandalised and offended," he said, "as my Lady Berkeley could be or her Lord, if he had been alive, and I began to resolve to have no more to do with Frenchmen in that post."<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, it was some time ere Ormonde or Ossory could be appeased; the Bishop being the person, it is amusing to note, presumably with the tolerance born of a wide experience of the habits and customs at seminaries of learning, who strove to mitigate the wrath both of the sailor earl, and the Chancellor of the University.<sup>2</sup> Fell evidently considered that the "little accident" had excited a commotion out of all proportion to its importance. And certainly no *casus belli* between two great powers could have led to more earnest and voluminous discussion by despatch and protocol than this ridiculous squabble. Ormonde, the Bishop, Aldrich, Ossory, Drelincourt, and Southwell all contributed to the literature on the subject. Drelincourt quickly—and wisely—sang *peccavi!* In his own defence he urged that he had not said: "'You lie, you dog!' or 'Sirrah, you lie!' but merely 'you lie,' with some other harsh word."<sup>3</sup> He also vowed that he had merely

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. ii. p. 286. Ormonde to Southwell, 23rd April 1679.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. v. p. 39. Bishop of Oxford, 9th April 1679.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 47. Drelincourt to Sir R. Southwell, 16th April 1679.

given Berkeley "very softly, and upon his hairs, a little box." Further, he declared that when at Ossory's command he begged the young gentleman's pardon, this reparation was made before a considerable audience, five times as large, in fact, as that which had witnessed his assault on the Hon. Mr Berkeley. All these apologies and penitential exercises would, he trusted, restore him to Arlington's and Ossory's good graces. Nor was he wholly unsuccessful in these efforts to reinstall himself in his patron's favour; though it was, perhaps, less to the attenuating circumstances he pleaded, than to Fell's advocacy, that he was finally retained in his former capacity at Oxford. But all idea of his accompanying Lord James abroad was thenceforward abandoned; Southwell, with the candour peculiar to that period, remarking that Ormonde would find it more satisfactory to reward Drelincourt's services with preferment in the Church—a suggestion eventually followed, since the bellicose Frenchman ended his days as Dean of Armagh.

This "storm in a creambowl,"<sup>1</sup> to use Ormonde's expression, having blown over, Lord James seems to have settled down to his studies. Drelincourt, indeed, complained that Mr Aldrich's lessons shrank from half an hour daily, to none at all for three whole weeks, and that it was considered a great crime at Oxford *de trouver à redire à ces manierres*<sup>2</sup> (*sic*). When Southwell, however, visited the student in the autumn, Lord James was able to recite passages from Virgil and to construe others "fairly well." Southwell, who, like Ormonde, was set rather on developing the young man's character on sound lines, than on cramming him with knowledge—whether epigrams or mathematics—for which, it was clear, he had no aptitude, reported favourably of the Oxford experiment.

"Certainly," he told Ormonde, "for getting hold of Latin and other good things peculiar to the quiet and care

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 292. Ormonde to Arlington, 28th December 1678.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 157. Drelincourt to Ormonde, 17th July 1679.

of that place, as also for subduing his natural passions when he is crossed, and learning more early to live by rule, he can be nowhere for about 2 years more to better purpose than where he is, for in that time the flying bee will be in a great measure settled, and it fortunes that there are some very good examples before him among the young noblemen of the college, with whom he begins better to sort, and by degrees I hope he will fix his thoughts and distinguish plainly between the things that will do him good, and such as will prove mischievous unto him."<sup>1</sup>

Southwell did not confine himself to writing reports on the undergraduate's doings to the anxious grandsire. He was a person of tact, and when he let drop improving maxims in his conversation with Lord James, he carefully interlarded these edifying sentiments with much learned discourse on horse and hound. Thus, if he told the boy "that his mind (as most young men's) was like a garden, where his care must be to root out the hurtful weeds that would be constantly growing up, and to plant good trees in their stead"; on the other hand, he also bade Lord James to keep him posted regarding his needs and wishes for his stable and kennel. And to this nicely balanced system he seems to have adhered in his dealings with Lord James, for later, when seeking to console the lad for spending his Christmas holidays at Oxford instead of Whitehall, he not only proposed to lay out 10 or 15 guineas "in globes or maps, or whatever his Lordship pleases to commute for the disappointment," but promised "a fine horse from Ireland in the Spring."

The educational methods of the wise vary less than is supposed. The policy Ormonde pursued with his "chief domestic care" differed little from that of the crafty Southwell. In the course of the same autumn, two letters reached him from Christ Church. The first was from Drelincourt, who complained that Lord James had

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 551. Southwell to Ormonde, 18th October 1679.

taken it into his head that "being not intended for a doctor" he needed neither learning nor governor.

"Moreover," wailed Drelincourt, "all the courting, the civil entreaties, the good words, patience, and promises cannot get him out of his bed before 8 the clock, and sometimes later."<sup>1</sup>

The second epistle was from the culprit himself. After apologising for not having written to Ormonde, "as often as his duty engaged him to do," he came at once to the business in hand. This was to solicit a new horse, which he ingeniously declared "would be a great encouragement to him to perform his exercises with more diligence and cheerfulness."<sup>2</sup> In reply the Duke wrote:—

"I was more glad to receive yours of the 9th than you will be with mine of the 20th of this month, and should be gladder if I were sure it were of your own dictating and that you did not send it to prevent just complaints of your miscarriage. However if you will keep to your promise and that I receive assurance of your performance, You shall not want any encouragement or satisfaction that is fit for you. I am well content you shall keep another horse and will be glad to hear you make often use of him, and of any other exercises that shall be allowed by my Lord Bishop and at such times as he shall permit. I am much troubled to hear that you grow fatter than is agreeable to your age, and much more that it should be imputed to your laziness, and long lying in bed—the thing in the world," said the active sexagenarian, "the most abhorred by me, having never seen any youth so addicted ever come to any good." Then followed the moral precepts already quoted, with a conclusion that was perhaps more to his reader's heart, "Consider these things and what else you shall be taught, and let me at all times know your desires, and you shall find me ready to satisfy you in all things.—Your affectionate Grandfather,  
ORMONDE."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 195. Drelincourt to Ormonde, 30th August 1679.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 201. Lord James to Ormonde, Oxford, 9th September 1679.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 214. Ormonde to Lord James Butler, Kilkenny, 27th September 1679.

Either these words of wisdom or the arrival of the much desired horse, or perhaps both, really seem to have effected something of the Duke's wishes. For, in July 1680, Drelincourt told Ormonde that during the last nine months Lord James had got up at 5.30 A.M., and that all the time not devoted to study was spent in riding, fencing, and other exercises, with as much hunting thrown in as "Monseigneur notre bon Évêque" would permit.<sup>1</sup> The progress adumbrated in Drelincourt's report was the very progress Ormonde coveted, since it implied discipline and self-control. Nor can this assurance have lost in value when the next mail informed him that the burden of carrying on the traditions of their house had devolved on Ossory's schoolboy heir.

Arlington's first step on Ossory's death was characteristic of that eager courtier. He straightway ordered Lord James up to London; his object being, he told Ormonde, to show the youth "to the world, whilst they are so in love with his father's memory, and lament to such an excess the loss of him."<sup>2</sup> In plain language, being a truly affectionate uncle, the Lord Chamberlain was bent on securing Ossory's places and emoluments—the things he himself most prized—to his nephew. A coach and six, and proper mourning were accordingly despatched to Oxford for James. And a week later, the youth alighted at Arlington House, safe and sound, despite the fact that in passing Stanhope House the coach overturned and broke in the mud. In a few days he was conveyed to Windsor, and was received with great expressions of kindness by the King; "'Tis said, the Queen and the Duke dropt a tear at the sight of him."<sup>3</sup>

Despite the emotion displayed by these high personages, it was, however, soon abundantly clear that none of Ossory's posts, either in possession or reversion, would fall to his young Lordship. From that point of view, the coach hire to London was pure waste, while Arlington's

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 347. Drelincourt to Ormonde, 16th July 1680.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 360. Arlington to Ormonde, 31st July 1680.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 373. Richard Muleys to Gascoigne, 7th August 1680.

secondary scheme for putting the boy into training for Whitehall, also miscarried. A year earlier, the Lord Chamberlain had deprecated his nephew's continued residence at Oxford, "knowing by experience it was apt to make a man stiff." To which Southwell had retorted, "that there were some things so over limber, that all they wanted was to be made stiff, and to think of despatching this young lord into France, was to pour oil into the fire to quench it"<sup>1</sup>

—a remark which left Arlington without an answer.<sup>2</sup> He had not, however, changed his opinion, and he now returned to the charge, though he got as little encouragement from Ormonde as from Southwell. Ormonde, who was evidently vexed that his grandson should be plunged anew into the dreaded Court atmosphere, briefly requested that James might be sent back to his studies at Oxford; and Arlington obeyed, though not without protest. Lord James, or rather "my young Lord of Ossory," as that punctilious age already styled the boy, returned to Oxford, the Chamberlain declared, with scarcely more "repugnancy" than he felt at sending him thither, knowing

"that the discipline of Faubert's Academy would have turned to more good with him than that of the college, and the exercise have done more good, for his taille wants it as well as the strength of his constitution."<sup>3</sup>

Ormonde likewise detested "fatness," but even the prospect of benefiting his grandson's "taille" did not induce him to send James to Paris. Back to Oxford, therefore, the lad again journeyed, though his stay there proved brief. Ormonde had come to the conclusion that to form an opinion on James's temper and inclination and to come to a decision on his future, he ought to make acquaintance with the heir he had not seen for three years. Besides, said the poor Duke to Fell, "I thought it some

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. Muleys to Captain G. Mathew, 14th August 1680.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 548. Southwell to Ormonde, 18th October 1679.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. v. p. 385. Arlington to Ormonde, 17th August 1680.

sort of expedient to reconcile the differing advices I have received concerning him from those that I am sure agree in their kindness to me and my family."<sup>1</sup> To Colonel Cooke, a friend of long standing, Ormonde further opened his heart. He wished, he said, to judge of the lad's improvement for himself, "being unwilling to depend upon the relations of others, who may desire to mitigate my grief for the loss of the father by giving me too favourable a character of the son. . . ."<sup>2</sup>

When Ormonde's decision was known, the Rev. Peter's lamentations over the loss of his *cher Seigneur*, were piteous.<sup>3</sup> The Bishop acquiesced with a better grace. But he, too, was not without misgivings, fervently trusting that Ormonde would free Lord James from the

"flatteries and diversions of the Court, and pernicious influence of servants, and engage him to industry and application of mind which he will hardly retain," he reminded Ormonde, "in glittering and pleasurable diversions."<sup>4</sup>

Of all James's relatives, Ormonde probably stood least in need of such advice. No man was more unlikely to train "loafers" than the Duke of Ormonde. He was now close on seventy, yet the rest of the world—the polite world—was scarcely awake, when Ormonde, having already dealt with a heavy correspondence, was ready to face the work or recreation that the remainder of the day would bring forth. And as with sloth, so with vanity. He had grown grey in the councils of princes. Although, during the greater part of a long life he had held the supreme command in his native land, the now venerable Lord-Lieutenant still welcomed intelligent and reasonable criticism with the modest courtesy of a young official on his promotion. If example and character are the living forces they are usually proclaimed, Lord James should have been accounted

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 413. Ormonde to Bishop of Oxford, 4th September 1680.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 406. Ormonde to Colonel Cooke, 1st September 1680.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 417. Rev. P. Drelincourt to Ormonde, 6th September 1680.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, p. 419. Bishop of Oxford to Ormonde, 4th September 1680.

fortunate in finding himself under his grandfather's roof. As we have seen, the next six months were fraught with hard work and alarms for Ormonde, but he was faithful to the resolution he had made that his supervision of his heir should not be merely nominal; and at the end of that time, he was enabled to give a good account of his educational stewardship.

"My grandson," he told Fell, "improves visibly in his person. He grows taller and leaner, and I keep him to college hours of rising. I can brag little of his proficiency in learning, in exercises he does well. Till I find a governor to my mind," he concludes, "I mean as well as I can to perform some part of the office and keep him with me."<sup>1</sup>

It was not only with regard to the boy's education that Ormonde received different advices. Lord Ossory was not sixteen, yet the Butler dove-cotes had already experienced many flutterings over his matrimonial prospects. As early as 1678, there had been a question of contracting him to the Duke of Newcastle's daughter and heiress. When this project came to naught, Lord Arlington suggested a relation of his own, a daughter of one Simon Bennet, generally known as "*the rich man of Buckinghamshire*." As the young lady's mother, who "ruled the roost in the house," was much enamoured of the notion of betrothing her child to the future Duke of Ormonde, Lord Arlington hoped that his nephew might get £100,000 with the bride.<sup>2</sup> There had never been a time in the Butler annals, when £100,000 would not have been useful at Kilkenny, but Ormonde did not favour the match, perhaps on account of "disparity in point of family." Colonel Cooke next offered the hand of a relative—his niece and ward—a daughter of the late Lord Paulett and a grand-daughter of Lord Pembroke. "If goodness and ingenuity with comeliness enough (in my eye) may pass for part of payment" the young lady's

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 585. Ormonde to Bishop of Oxford, 19th February 1680.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 466. Arlington to Ormonde, 30th October 1680.

portion, her fond uncle dared to say, would not be inconsiderable. Expressed in hard cash, however, the actual dowry did not exceed £10,000, though in certain contingencies the damsel stood to inherit an estate worth £5,000, and £20,000 of personality.<sup>1</sup> Ormonde received his old friend's suggestion with a charming grace. He assured Cooke that he had a great value for the young lady's kindred, and that he had wished to renew his relations with many friends in the neighbourhood of Hinton St George, but there the matter ended. The fact is that unless a convenient murrain had disposed of her brother and sisters, Miss Paulett's dowry was but a bare £10,000. It was the very portion the Duchess had considered inadequate in the case of Lord James's father, and since the Duke avowed that he always consulted his wife on domestic matters it is perhaps not surprising that Miss Paulett never became Lady Ossory.<sup>2</sup>

Ormonde's correspondence with Colonel Cooke at this period does not merely turn on the matrimonial suitability of his niece, or other high-bred damsels, for Ormonde's much courted grandson. A rumour that Ossory had pledged himself to take some "wench" at Oxford to wife, had reached the Duke's ears. That he gave much credence to the tale does not appear, but its origin and purpose puzzled him, and he applied to Cooke to clear up the mystery.<sup>3</sup> In reply, Cooke owned that hearing that "his little lordship had been too prodigal in disposing of his person to the cook or butler's daughter of the college he was of," he had already, for his own satisfaction, conducted a private investigation into the matter. These researches had fully convinced him that there was not an atom of truth in the story. Consequently, he had thought it "impertinent" to bring the gossip to Ossory's notice, "rather choosing to act my diligence in stopping their mouths, who I found open to repeat it."<sup>4</sup> He added that

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. v. p. 372. Colonel Cooke to Ormonde, 7th August 1680.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 405. Ormonde to Colonel Cooke, 1st September 1680.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 483. Ormonde to Colonel Cooke, 7th November 1680.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, p. 495. Colonel Cooke to Ormonde, 20th November 1680.

he had failed to discover the author of the scandal. Either he did not know, or would not say, that the report owed its wide circulation to no less a person than Her Grace of Portsmouth. It will be remembered that at this juncture, Louise de Kéroualle was engaged in furthering Ormonde's downfall. This miserable slander was a minor detail of the far wider campaign against him of which she was the inspiring genius.

In 1682 Ormonde, accompanied by Ossory, passed over to England, the Duke probably hoping that during their stay the young man's matrimonial fate might finally be decided. Naturally, propositions for an alliance with the Duke's heir were not wanting; but as Ormonde told Arran—whom he left as Deputy in Dublin—although he was assured that he might have any match he liked for James, yet, when the propositions were examined, he found that

"where there is birth and an untarnished family, there is little to be had. £10,000 is the most that can be expected in such cases. Where money is to be had, neither birth nor alliance is to be expected."<sup>1</sup>

The Duke of Newcastle's daughter was an instance of Ormonde's doctrine of compensation. Once again the young lady could have been James's for the asking, but her father was determined to part with no money at all for the present, and would only promise £20,000 at his own death. "I doubt," said Ormonde, "the issue must be that I content myself with £10,000, and a good family, and bring James back with me again." In these untoward circumstances, an inspiration of the Duke of York's was hailed with delight as putting an end to all dubitation. That prince's niece, Lady Anne Hyde, daughter of Lord Hyde, the future Earl of Rochester, was still unwedded at the advanced age of fifteen. The Duke, himself, offered her hand to Ormonde, and the

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxx. p. 552. Ormonde to Arran, Windsor, 2nd June 1682.

King supported the proposal, with the result that the weary ducal matchmaker gladly welcomed so happy a solution of his problems. Anne's dowry was a mere £15,000, but even if the other advantages the marriage offered had been less, Ormonde loyally declared that "the quarter whence came the overtures would have made it acceptable with smaller advantages to recommend it."<sup>1</sup> What the advantages—and disadvantages—were he then duly enumerated. "Her quality is neither too high nor too low for him ; the parents are now in play ; the young lady is pretty, but charged with affectedness," though, said the wise Duke, this was "probably the remains of childishness, and would wear off."<sup>2</sup> That Ormonde was not partial in his description of Lady Anne is proved by the chorus of praise which greeted the engagement. "A pretty red-haired wife, and one that has wit enough," is the verdict of an old friend.<sup>3</sup> Another writes more emphatically.

"The young bride," says Lord Longford, "is one of the prettiest ladies I ever saw, and of a most excellent humour, and," last but not least, "my Lord and she are as fond of one another as you could wish."<sup>4</sup>

Since his "young Lordship," even when he became the broken exile of Avignon, was never indifferent to beauty, this, his first passion, was evidently not inexplicable. And Ormonde was undoubtedly right in accounting the lady's beauty as one of the chief recommendations for the match. On July the 15th, 1682, the wedding was celebrated in the chapel of Burlington House. Owing to the expensive ceremonial observed at those nuptials to which publicity was given, it had become the fashion to make something of a mystery of the happy day and hour. Probably this accounts for the effort to keep the marriage secret. But as we know, love will out. "Private

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. cc. f. 349. Ormonde to Arran, 11th July 1682.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. i. ff. 281-2. Ormonde to Arran, 1st July 1682.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. ccxvi. f. 117. Sir William Stewart to Arran, 21st July 1682; and *idem*, f. 342. Sir William Stewart to Arran, 21st July 1682.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, vol. xvi. p. 117. Lord Longford to Arran, 21st July 1682.

as it was designed to be carried, yet the whole Town rung of it some hours before it was done."

Although Ormonde avowed that James was his "chief domestic care," his interest in his descendants of the second generation was by no means confined to the future Duke of Ormonde. Like the Duchess, he was much concerned in the welfare of their numerous grandchildren. Of these, "Betty," the motherless Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, probably claimed the largest share of her grandparents' affection. Indeed, according to her father, Ormonde was somewhat unreasonable in the pretensions he advanced on her behalf. Since the Earl's reconciliation with his wife, despite early subjects of quarrel, Lord Chesterfield had lived on perfectly friendly terms with his father-in-law. His re-marriage had not interfered with the cordiality of their relations, and when his third wife died, Ormonde's letter of condolence bore the stamp of absolute sincerity. Lord Chesterfield was consequently filled with indignation when he learned that Ormonde believed that he was putting obstacles to Betty's marriage in order to save her portion.<sup>1</sup> "Nothing could be more reflecting on him," he declared, and all the duty and respect he owed Ormonde would not prevent him from clearing himself of this "ill-character." Then at some length—for Philip Stanhope's style was never the tersest—he set himself to enumerate the matches Betty could have made, if her grandparents had seen fit to give any one of them their blessing.

"Your Grace cannot but remember," he said, "how I made you the offer of the Lord Gerard who had £8,000 a year, and of the Lord Camden who had £10,000 a year, and of the Lord Latimer who had £6,000, which were all refused either by your Grace or by the Duchess of Ormonde, or by my daughter, when shee lived in Your Grace's house. This, my Lord, makes mee think that I have well discharged the part of a father in that particular, especially having often prest your Grace as also the Lady Devonshire and the Lord of Arran to find her any husband that

<sup>1</sup> "Letters of Lord Chesterfield (Philip, 2nd Earl)," p. 200. Lord Chesterfield to Ormonde, 20th July 1685.

your Grace and shee liked, telling your Grace that her portion was ready, and that I would consent to whomever your Grace should approve of. My Lord, Your Grace knows all this to be true, as allso, that none of her other relations ever proffered her any match besides those I offered, except the Lord Digby, who by the particulars of his estate which he gave unto your Grace did only pretend to have £1,500 a year in England, out of which his mother had a jointure of £500 a year, and his Irish estate was £2,000 a year, on which were several encumbrances, as annuities, rent charges, etc.; and in short his whole estate in England was not sufficient to make a jointure of £1,200 a year, during his mother's life, and therefore could not reasonably pretend to a portion of £12,000, with a woman well born. But, notwithstanding all this, I did not refuse him, for if the Lord Bristol would have settled anything on him after his death, I was satisfied with it, and your Grace, and the Duchess of Ormonde, as much unsatisfied with his estate as myself, who in this very business, did consent to whatever your Grace and the Duchess of Ormonde would agree to."

Then, after reminding Ormonde that Lady Betty's portion was settled on her, and must be hers absolutely at his death, he dealt with the other accusation regarding the inadequacy of the damsel's pin-money. And certainly on reading the account of Lady Betty's allowance, it is impossible not to think that Ormonde was somewhat exacting, and that Lord Chesterfield had the right to declare "that if it is not enough for your grace's grandchild, I am sure it is enough for my daughter." Indeed, many earls' daughters nowadays, would probably be thankful if their fathers proved such generous paymasters.

"I doe affirm," wrote Lord Chesterfield, "that I doe give her constantly £200 a year, exactly paid, without any defalcations or deductions, and besides I pay all her servants' wages, which are a waiting woman, a chamber-maid, and a footman, so that they doe cost her nothing, and moreover, in town I doe keep a coach and horses for her. My lord, I doe not know whether this be enough for your Grace's grandchild, but I am sure it is enough for my daughter, and more than the Earl of Northumberland

did allow his, and more than I believe any earl in England who hath a greater estate than myself, and who hath foure doth allow. My lord," the misjudged man concluded, "I think that the sum of all that is here sayd will show that I have too good an excuse for not waiting on your Grace, but nothing shall hinder mee from being with great respect, my Lord, Your most obedient, humble servant, and dutifull son,

CHESTERFIELD."

To this letter we do not possess Ormonde's rejoinder; and the misunderstanding was probably soon dissipated, for a month later the Duke was writing to Sir Robert Southwell to beg that gentleman to further a match for Betty, to which Lord Chesterfield had evidently signified his consent. Either Ormonde or the fastidious damsel herself had bethought them that Lord Cornbury would be a suitable husband for the Lady Elizabeth. Southwell was to find out if the young gentleman's hand was not already bespoke, and if he proved free, Sir Robert was empowered to indicate that his addresses would be well received by Lord Chesterfield.<sup>1</sup> This scheme, however, shared the fate of those enumerated by the angry parent. And it was not until after Ormonde's death that Elizabeth married the Earl of Strathmore. Her picture at Glamis in its delicate fairness, recalls Gramont's eulogies of her mother, though the air of vitality, so remarkable in the first Elizabeth, is totally wanting in the second. Moreover, if the sole relic she has left—a recipe book—is any clue to her tastes, they were more domestic than those of the gay Lady Chesterfield, who in truth seems to have alternated between the card table and the guitar. This may, however, be a totally unwarranted inference to draw from a very little book. The stillroom, as we know, held no less a part in the existence of the fair ones of the seventeenth century, than Gardens of Friendship, and herbaceous borders do in that of our smart ladies. We may note that Betty did not go to Forfarshire without some remembrance of her grandfather, since, close to the picture

<sup>1</sup> Foster MSS., vol. ii. p. 123. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, 25th August 1685.



ELIZABETH STANHOPE, COUNTESS OF STRATHMORE.

From a picture in the possession of the Earl of Strathmore



of the Countess of Strathmore, hangs a portrait, in Garter and armour, of the venerable Duke, who had taken so deep an interest in Betty's fortunes, but who did not live to see her installed in her northern castle.

There is less to be gleaned in the Ormonde correspondence about Lady Mary Cavendish's children, though, on one occasion, Lord Arran does tell the Duchess that he had been to visit his sister's nursery at Kensington. Perhaps he thought any news of the babes would be gratifying to a fond grandmother. The report, however, he sent would scarcely have pleased Lady Mary, had she read it; for all he finds to say is that "the boy is much mended and is a fine child, but so ill-favoured a fat porpoise as the girl is, I did never see."<sup>1</sup>

Lord Arran's own children were short lived, dying just before their father, at a time when one sorrow after another was being heaped upon Ormonde. The eldest son, little Lord Tullagh, was evidently a source of great interest to the Duchess in the last winter of her life. Indeed, a certain Israel Fielding, Arran's man of business, thought the babe ran some chance of being spoilt by a too solicitous grandmother.

"I cannot but wish," he wrote to Arran, "for a commission to steall away my Lord Tullagh from the over nice care and kindness of an indulgent grandmother; now a fresh house is fitting and a cart att this instant disfurnishing some part of his Excellency's house in Germain Street in order to it. A consult," he continues, "is held this evening at Chelsey among the learned matrons in the rearing of infants, whether velvet of the first, second, or third pile is most proper to make him a cape."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. iv. p. 90. Arran to Duchess of Ormonde 19th January 1677-8.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. xvi. Israel Fielding to Lord Arran, 14th February 1682.

## CHAPTER XII

### ORMONDE AND THE TORY REACTION

ORMONDE spent the whole of the two years 1682-4 in England—years crowded with events of national importance. Having left Arran to act as Deputy, he must have been comparatively happy regarding the conduct of the administration during his absence, although it is certain that he neither wished nor anticipated so long a stay in England. He had announced that he would not be away from Ireland more than two months “at the extremest,”<sup>1</sup> but various considerations, public and private, delayed his return. At the outset, his journey was not unconnected with the appearance of a tract by Arthur Annesley, Earl of Anglesea, which had greatly flattered loyalist dove-cotes. The genesis of this pamphlet was curious. In the midst of the Popish Plot, our old friend Lord Castlehaven was so ill-advised as to publish the memoirs to which reference has been made in a previous portion of this book. From these references, it will be evident that the Earl’s history was not likely to commend itself to the Whigs; although, strange to say, it was that notable Protestant, Lord Anglesea, who had urged Castlehaven to give his reminiscences to the public.<sup>2</sup> Anglesea, however, was far from pleased when he saw the result of his advice, and promptly retorted with a counterblast that spared neither the memory of Charles I. nor Ormonde’s “Cessation.” In his turn Charles II. was moved to indignation. He

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. vi. p. 318. Ormonde to Arlington, 20th February 1681-2.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. cxviii. p. 426. Southwell’s justification of Ormonde against Anglesea.

regarded it as little short of an outrage that the Lord Privy Seal—for Anglesea held this office—should have reflected on his father's character. He foresaw the disagreeable discussions to which it might give rise in Parliament, and consequently entrusted Ormonde with the task of refuting Anglesea before the Houses could meet. The Duke obeyed, and drew up the required vindication, but the necessary documents not coming into his possession until February, he found it impossible to complete his work by the specified date, with the result that it was never published. This must have been the less grief to Ormonde since he evidently did not relish his appointed undertaking. He said quite frankly that he "did not know what to do with so slippery and incorporeal an antagonist"<sup>1</sup> as Lord Anglesea. And he was inclined to treat with quiet disdain the noble author's assertion, that he, Ormonde, had offered to serve the Parliament after his surrender at Dublin.

"I have read over my Lord Anglesea's remarks and my Lord Castlehaven's memories," he told Arran, "and to my thinking I never saw antagonists mett upon more equal terms for the seasonableness of the argument, the mistakes in matter of fact (to give it a soft name) and for incoherent deductions. I confess, I am afraid," he continues, "to enter into a contest in print with such a man as my Lord of Anglesea, a man I have seen detected in publick of misinformations and mean artifices for sordid sums, and yet never blush at the matter, but appear the next day as brisk and confident as his favourite Thornhill when convicted of perjury in an open, full Court. But since it is the King's sense, something shall be said, though I can hardly vindicate my own actings but I must reflect upon those of a numerous and considerable party, in conjunction with whom he was in rebellion."<sup>2</sup>

The unwonted severity of Ormonde's judgment requires

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS. vol. vi. p. 311. Ormonde to Lord Longford, Kilkenny, 11th February 1681.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS., appendix to Report, vii. p. 743. Duke of Ormonde to Arran, 19th February 1681.

perhaps some little explanation.<sup>1</sup> Arthur Annesley had begun life, and laid the foundations of a substantial fortune, as a fervent Protestant and Parliamentarian. But, like many men of property on his side, the vagaries of the "Saints" effected his conversion. He took an active part in promoting Charles II.'s restoration, and was duly rewarded for his pains. When, subsequently, he championed Antrim's cause his action did not escape comment. His marriage to Antrim's sister was held responsible for his attitude; yet, though such an alliance was perhaps equally amazing, other staunch Protestants had compromised with their principles when matrimony or finance, or both, had come into play. Left to himself, it must be admitted that Lord Anglesea was rather good than ill-natured. Theological rancour did not prevent him from "living fair and easy" with the Roman Catholics. Nor did he scruple to receive certain of their priests, while he gave offence to many of his Whig friends by showing himself less "keen and credulous" about the Popish Plot than they thought seemly. In fact, it was his conduct over this much debated matter that gave them a handle against him—which they hastened to use. He found himself suddenly "blasted" by reports of "intriguing with Mr Cellier, with Mr Dangerfield, with sheltering of Popish priests, and for having thirty masses each morning said in Ireland for the good of his soul—and what not."

In the midst of the Popish Terror, the bravest would have had reason to be alarmed by such reports. Anglesea was not an heroic spirit, and when he saw that "impeachments flew about" he was terrified. He cast around for "an atonement to the Faction," and nothing better suggested itself than to charge Ormonde—the target for all calumnies—with "inclinations and partiality" to Popery during the Rebellion. "Coming from the hand of such a friend, a member of the Court, and Lord Privy Seal," these "materials for impeachment in Parliament, or addresses to His Majesty to remove that Duke, and by the change to get Ireland into their power," were invaluable

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. cxviii. p. 426. Southwell's MSS.

to those he strove to propitiate. Lord Shaftesbury did not exaggerate when he declared that "his Lordship's book was worth its weight in gold." "The Faction" took Anglesea to their hearts. Henceforward he was their "favourite"; though, unluckily, he forgot that there are dangers in running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, and that in making his peace with the militant Whigs he might alienate the King. Perhaps it is not unnatural that he should have overlooked these drawbacks, for in the main he had been a singularly prosperous individual ever since the day when, declaring that the testimony against Strafford was not good enough to hang a dog, he had nevertheless consented to Wentworth's death.<sup>1</sup> The truth is that Anglesea chose a bad moment for his change of attitude, for Shaftesbury's day of power was already waning. When Charles II., hearing the Lord Privy Seal call for ink and paper at the Council Board, remarked, "in his pleasant way," "My lord, you shall have none, for pen, ink, and paper are dangerous tools in your hands," Anglesea had good cause for the disquiet he could not conceal since, in truth, the Monarch's jest was the harbinger of his fall.<sup>2</sup> Sterner methods soon succeeded to jests. In 1682, on Ormonde's arrival in England, Anglesea's literary efforts were called in question before the Privy Council, and Charles II. then felt strong enough to follow his inclinations and dismiss "the Faction's favourite." It was certainly a more sensible mortification to Annesley than would have been the most pungent refutation of his book.

If Anglesea's historical gossip, however, had a share in drawing Ormonde to England it was mainly Charles's need of his presence and counsel that kept the Duke at Whitehall. Matters more important were at issue than the discussion of Charles II.'s policy in 1643. The Duke of York was back at Court. The Tory reaction was in full swing, and the Whigs would already have experienced the tender mercies of their opponents, had

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. vi. p. 282. Arran to Ormonde, 23rd December 1681.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 260. Longford to Ormonde, 13th December 1681.

the Tories not been hitherto checkmated by the difficulty of obtaining verdicts in London and other large boroughs. In the country it was far otherwise. There the Court appointed the sheriffs, and the sheriffs chose jurymen of uncontrollable docility. In London, on the other hand, where the Protestant element predominated, the citizens elected sheriffs who returned juries impervious both to courtly cajolery and to judicial menace. It was to this cause alone that Shaftesbury owed his acquittal. And from the day when the twelve good men and true threw out the bill against the great Achitophel, Charles and his counsellors realised that the municipal Charters were the real obstacles to their complete triumph. What the Crown had given, it was doubtless within the resources of Stuart Crown lawyers to rescind. The first writ of *quo warranto*, to enquire into the tenure of its privileges, was brought against the City of London in December 1681—the “most formidable enterprise,” says a recent historian, “which the Crown had undertaken since the fall of Charles I.”<sup>1</sup> It was not the Sovereign’s habit to consult Ormonde at the inception of an undertaking, but when once committed to the way perilous, the Duke’s support and assistance were almost always invoked. The prospect of Tory ascendancy in the law courts cannot have been unpleasing to Ormonde, Whig influences in the same connection being particularly obnoxious to any well-wisher of Ireland, let alone to its Governor. The attack on the City Charters was, however, planned rather by the Duke of York and Lord Sunderland than by Ormonde, though the Lord-Lieutenant characteristically maintained that

“His Majesty had better never have attempted to assert his authority, than after having gone so far in that way to desist before he had established it, and that so unsteady a proceeding would make him more contemptible than ever.”<sup>2</sup>

At this crisis, Ormonde’s presence was a very considerable asset to a party, to councillors, and to a monarch

<sup>1</sup> Lodge’s “Political History,” p. 219.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 635.

who could reckon few personages of the Duke's moral calibre amongst their immediate surroundings. The Duke himself ardently desired to return to his post in Ireland, but he could not bring himself to press for leave when the King and his ministers assured him

"that his reputation in the world, especially with the old loyal party, was of use in the present conjuncture. That which is uneasy," he owned, "to a man of his principles and temper is that he observes there is not so perfect a friendship and so entire a confidence between those that govern as is needed . . . There is, he fears, as much industry employed in supplanting one another as in the King's service. But if affairs go amiss here," he sadly concluded, "they cannot go well in Ireland."<sup>1</sup>

From the moment when the Attorney-General brought the *quo warranto* against the City Charter, London knew that its liberties were in mortal jeopardy. The King, however, could achieve nothing until the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs for the next year were elected. During that interval Ormonde did not spare himself. On an average, he dined twice or thrice a week with the Lord Mayor to hearten him for the work, and, it must be added, for the intrigues needful to the King's purposes. Nor was it Ormonde's "reputation" alone on which the Ministry made drafts. As Lord Steward, his hospitality was likewise of considerable assistance to the Tory party and its candidates. Naturally, this entailed a large expenditure on Ormonde's part, the cost of transporting his "table" to Winchester or Newmarket, in the wake of the Court, being immense, while all the time the expenses of Arran's housekeeping in Dublin had to be met. When a sum of £15,000 was swallowed up in this manner, his comptroller grimly remarked that "you cannot have your cake and eat it,"<sup>2</sup> and the gibe has a despairing accent, not altogether unreflected in some of the Duke's letters.

"I feel," he confessed to Southwell, "the weight of a divided numerous family and the necessity that lies upon

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxx. f. 558. Ormonde to Arran, 24th September 1682.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. vi. pref. x-x.

me at once to support the charge of a chief Governor in Ireland, and the hospitality incident to a Lord Steward ; for which latter I have no sort of allowance."<sup>1</sup>

It was certainly pardonable in the old man to wish to leave his financial concerns in some measure of order for his heir, but it was an ambition he was never able to realise. It is true that neither the King nor the Duke of York failed to acknowledge Ormonde's devotion. In November 1682, Ormonde was created a Duke in the peerage of England, and in August of the same year the Duke of York asked Ormonde to stand sponsor to his last-born child, who only lived long enough to receive the names of Charlotte Maria.<sup>2</sup> The Duke of York had never shown the same pleasure in Ormonde's society as his humorous elder brother. He could not well avoid feeling "esteem" for the Duke. "Yet," says Carte, "he never cared for him, purely on account of his being a zealous Protestant."<sup>3</sup> The compliment, small as it was, may therefore have been grateful, especially since the Prince was no less deficient in affability than, according to the Jacobite Lord Ailesbury, was his father, the Blessed Martyr.

With regard to the English peerage Ormonde seems to have rated it at its proper value, succinctly remarking that "it was of no other advantage than precedence"; and, undoubtedly, this particular honour would already have been his but for the Duke of Lauderdale's opposition and Ormonde's own indifference. Lauderdale disliked the notion of the Irish Duke's promotion to a parity of dignity with himself, and Ormonde, who fancied that it might entail a change of name, was reluctant to accept a new patent. In August 1682, however, Lauderdale died; and Lord Hyde, believing that his rival, the new Marquis of Halifax, aspired to a dukedom, thought to checkmate him by urging Ormonde's promotion. On his part, Ormonde's objections were dispelled by Sir William Dugdale. To

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 165. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, 3rd February 1682.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS., Report, vii. p. 406. *Newsletter*.

<sup>3</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 693.

the supreme authority in matters heraldic, Ormonde could not refuse credence, and, on Dugdale's solemn assurance that he need not forego his ancestral name, he felt free to accept the proffered honour.

"His Majesty's favour," he told the Archbishop of Armagh, "is the more valuable to me in that I am permitted to be known by my old name — which having never, I bless God, been tainted by rebellion or any other enormous or disgraceful crime, I was for luck's sake loth to change."<sup>1</sup>

Shaftesbury did not wait for the issue of the civic contest. He knew he was marked out for vengeance, his health was failing, and Monmouth refused to abet a rising. The great Achitophel's nerve forsook him, and in November he fled to Holland. On January the 21st, 1683, sheltered by the Carthage for whose destruction he had clamoured, he died at Amsterdam. He left behind him men of ability and resource, but for good or ill, they were pygmies, mentally and morally, compared to Anthony Ashley Cooper. Indeed, not the least indictment against the age of the second Charles is the fact that talents such as Shaftesbury's, should have been chiefly devoted to fostering hideous wrong, in order to avert a worse harm from his country. At this distance of time, it is possible to see excuses even for the protagonist of the Popish Terror. For we remember that Shaftesbury was undoubtedly cognisant both of Charles's veritable creed, and of the secret articles of the Treaty of Dover — the most sinister mysteries of the day to patriotic Englishmen. Such leniency of judgment would, however, have been impossible for his contemporaries.

"All I observe," wrote Ormonde to Sir Robert Southwell, "on the death of the (till now) restless Earl of Shaftesbury is matter of mortification to all turbulent spirits; in that those of his party who do extenuate the loss of him, say he did them more hurt than good;

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxviii. f. 303. Ormonde to Archbishop of Armagh, 2nd December 1682.

and the Government will not own any advantage it gets by his death, but seems to think he did it more good than hurt. So that his departure (whither, God knows) is neither lamented by his friends nor rejoiced at by his enemies.”<sup>1</sup>

Again, writing to the Archbishop of Armagh, and repeating the current controversies as to the loss or gain to the King’s affairs in Shaftesbury’s death, Ormonde adds: “the writer is of those who believe that they cannot be the worse for it.”<sup>2</sup>

It is a relief—to his biographer at least—to be able to record that feasting and canvassing the uncertain spirits, whose votes were of import to the Ministry, did not entirely engross Ormonde’s energies during the winter of 1682-3. Great changes in the collection and management of the Irish Revenue were again impending. By Christmas 1682, Sir James Shaen’s lease of the Revenue expired. It had lasted five years. To the royal Exchequer, vainly languishing for its dues, and to the wretched army, frequently left unpaid for nine months together, they had been lean years. From the outset, Ormonde had opposed Sir James’s schemes; and the state of affairs disclosed when the farmers handed in their accounts, or rather when they proved unable to do so, amply justified his misgivings.

The verdict of the Commissioners appointed to report on the methods of the Farmers of the Revenue, is a somewhat startling document. In the first instance, the farmers owed the King eight months’ rent, and not having a single voucher to show that they had discharged any portion of this debt, they were completely at the Sovereign’s mercy. But there was worse to come. It was estimated that if all their “solvent arrears” throughout the country, were called in they would be £100,000 short.<sup>3</sup> Their so-called “solvent arrears,” moreover, were only too often

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 165. Ormonde to Sir R. Southwell, London, 3rd February 1682.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, MSS., vol. lxviii. pp. 322-3. Ormonde to Archbishop of Armagh, 27th January 1683.

<sup>3</sup> Clarendon S. Papers, vol. lxxxvi. p. 34.

represented by claims which ran scant chance of being satisfied. They had found it "very easy" to pay their more pressing debts by assignments, and then "to make up an account as if by such assignments they had paid what they owe, though they have not then money in their collector's hands to discharge such assignments."<sup>1</sup> In fact, they had gambled in assignments, as the First Republic did in paper money. The climax of the incredible is, however, reached when we learn that none of the King's officers during the farmers' lease had possessed the slightest check on their doings. The only account of how they paid their rent was given by an auditor, "who was their own servant," and issued certificates "as they think fit to state their accounts." After receiving this report, Charles and his Council may have regretted that they had previously refused to heed Ormonde's protests. At any rate, they now deferred making any fresh arrangements until Ormonde could discuss them with the English Treasury. These discussions were lengthy, and provoked considerable debate. Halifax was urgent that the Revenue should again be farmed; Ormonde strenuously opposed the notion. Eventually, the Duke's reasoning triumphed; and it was decided that the Sovereign should assume the management and responsibility of his own finances.

A new Board of Commissioners, with Lord Longford, Lady Gowran's second husband, as chairman, was accordingly appointed. Despite all the farmers' tricks the Revenue was on the upward grade, so that the Commissioners' task was not hopeless. Moreover, with the prospect of a Parliament assembling at Dublin, it became desirable to diminish the load of extraneous charges assessed on the unlucky Irish Establishment, for otherwise the Commons would probably decline to vote the much desiderated subsidies. The cost of the maintenance of Tangier was consequently struck off the Irish debit sheet; Tangier, itself, being shortly thereafter dismantled

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon S. Papers, vol. lxxxvi. p. 34. Extract of letter to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury from the Commissioners of the Revenue of Ireland concerning the late Farmer's Accounts, Dublin, 20th February 1682-3.

and abandoned. And with Tangier went also sundry pensions allocated to the same fund, the Muster-Master General's pay and office being simultaneously abolished. Thus lightened, it was believed that even the very cranky ship of Irish Finance would be kept afloat. It cannot be denied that these changes were all for the good of the country, although, naturally, they were not accomplished without loud complaint from those who considered themselves the victims of the new system. The loudest of these protestors was apparently George Lane, Lord Lanesborough, formerly Ormonde's private secretary. It was commonly reported—though there may have been exaggeration in the tales current—that Lord Lanesborough, whatever his merits, had not copied his chief's delicacy in money matters. Certainly, during the last twenty years, he had amassed a respectable fortune. He was now ill, and the news that his name was not included in the establishment, dealt him—so he declared—his death-blow. When his omission was determined, Ormonde, in the candour of his heart, had evidently hoped to reconcile him to the change by talking the matter over with his son, remarking that both he—the Duke—"and Lord Lanesborough had been well rewarded by the Crown for their services."<sup>1</sup> This fashion of envisaging the matter Lord Lanesborough would not allow for a moment. In fact, Arran wrote that to mark his sense of Ormonde's "unkindness" Lord Lanesborough had given orders that the letter, containing the account of this same interview and this particular speech of his old patron's, should be buried with him.<sup>2</sup> That Ormonde did not inculcate on others virtues which he himself failed to practise—though to his own detriment—appears in a transaction of this very period. He had a claim against the Farmers of Revenue with respect to that right of *prisage* on wines, which was one of the most ancient portions of the Butler heritage.<sup>3</sup> He and Lord Arran, however, agreed that no part of what was due to

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccix. f. 458. Ormonde to Arran, 20th May 1683.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. clviii. f. 116. Arran to Ormonde, 2nd June 1683.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. ccix. p. 550. Ormonde to Arran, 17th November 1683.

the King could be justly applied to the Lord-Lieutenant's claims—creditor of the Crown though he was. The sense of his own rectitude was, however, as unavailing to console Ormonde for the imputation of "unkindness" to an old friend, as it would be to any other man of his generous temper. He was miserable at the thought that Lord Lanesborough would die under so false an impression of his conduct, for, to produce such resentment, the son's letter, he told Arran, must have contained somewhat beyond anything he, Ormonde, had said. "I am really much troubled," said the poor Duke, torn asunder between public duty and private friendship, "that a man so meriting of me, so esteemed and obliged by me, should go out of the world with a belief of my being unkind to him."<sup>1</sup> He earnestly besought Arran if possible to assure Lord Lanesborough of the Duke's value and affection for him, "which is as great as a man can have for the friend he would trust his life and honour with."

Alas for human nature! Arran did seek out the family, and strove to win speech with the sick man, but the manner of his reception showed that the supposed slight had wiped out the memory of long years of benefits and happy comradeship.

Lord Lanesborough was not the only person who considered himself mightily aggrieved by the new establishment. In their eagerness to rake in money, the custom officers often grossly overvalued the goods that passed through their hands.<sup>2</sup> Nor were they respecters of persons; and the feelings of the Chancellor can be better imagined than described when he found himself constrained to pay customs at the rate of £90 for a bed, which had cost him £45. In recounting this incident to Ormonde, Arran was statesman enough to add :

"I am not so much concerned at the disappointment of private men, or at the abuse in the sworn appraisers, as I am that the Army here must perpetually fall short

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccix. f. 482. Ormonde to Arran, London, 9th June 1683.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. clxviii. f. 116. Arran or Ormonde, Dublin, 9th May 1683.

upon every new Farm, undertaking and management of the Revenue."

Thus it is clear that though nothing could have been more disastrous to the country than a continuance of Shaen's *régime*, yet Longford and his Board did not initiate an economic millennium for Ireland.

In January 1683, Ormonde had written to Arran :

" We are now come under the three denominations of Tories, Whigs, and Trimmers. The first and last have patronage at Court. The language of the last is moderation, unity, and peace, joining with the Whigs in their care of Religion, and property, and with the Tories for Monarchy and a just and loyal prerogative. But it is easy to slip into either of the extremes from such a mediocrity that as their principles are inscrutable, so may be thought to be their interest and safety. Those of this temper without, think, I am sure, the Earl of Halifax to be their Patron, and his converse gives cause to believe it. Yet, in consultation he, as yet, is in most things unanimous with the thoroughest Tories ; but when there is any difference of opinion, it seems to me to lead in the trimming Way. My Lord Rochester is warmly otherwise, so are my Lord-Keeper, my Lord of Sunderland and Conway and the good Secretary. In fact, if we have good luck we shall be all Tories, if we have bad we shall be all Whigs." <sup>1</sup>

Ormonde was right. For although he would have resented the abortive Rye House Plot being described as a stroke of luck for his party, it was that piece of folly on the extremists' part which converted not only Courtly Trimmers, but the balancing electors all over the country, for the nonce into fanatical Tories. It will be remembered that the conspiracy to seize Charles and his brother at the Rye House, on their way back from the April meeting at Newmarket, miscarried, largely, owing to a fire at the Royal Palace there. Finding themselves houseless, the princes were forced to anticipate their return to London, and the ambush consequently

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxx. p. 563. Ormonde to Arran, St James Square, 10th January 1682-3.

did not take place. It was not, however, until the month of June that false brethren began to babble of the matter, and a few arrests of no great importance were made. Monmouth, against whom a warrant was issued, could not be found, and the month was drawing to a close before Algernon Sidney and Lord Russell were sent to the Tower. In the first days of July they were joined by Lord Essex, and, for their common undoing, by the traitor Lord Howard of Escrick, who saved his worthless life at their expense.

Ormonde's comments on the whole business are characteristic and not devoid of interest. The friendly terms which had once existed between him and Essex had long been exchanged for rancorous animosity on the Earl's part, Ormonde unavoidably accepting the antagonistic attitude assigned him. He was consequently "all along silent when Essex's case came into question," being anxious not to prejudice an opponent's cause, though privately he confessed to Arran that he was astonished at the Earl's bearing before the King.<sup>1</sup> "His defence," said Ormonde, "and deportment were far short of my expectations, and that of many less men of quality and partes." Ormonde was not singular in this opinion. "Ye sad and tragicall period," the unfortunate Earl put to his life explains what, in so brave and able a man, seemed at the time well-nigh inexplicable to friend and foe. Already Essex's brain must have been faltering under the horror of an accusation, which, however false, would, he realised, be practically impossible to rebut. Much, both then and subsequently, has been written about the so-called mystery of his death.<sup>2</sup> From Ormonde's letter, it is obvious that he considered that it was only Essex's motives that admitted of doubt. The idea that Essex was the victim of foul play did not apparently suggest itself to the Duke. The suicide, he told Arran took place,

"while the King was taking a view of some repairs and additions to the Tower, and whilst he was waiting for ye

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccix. f. 482. Ormonde to Arran, London, 12th July 1683.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 486. Ormonde to Arran, 14th July 1683.

Tide to carry him back to Whitehall. There are various reasons given," Ormonde continues, "for so desperate a violence upon himself; some will have it to be done to save his title of honour, and his Estate to his son, in imitation of an Earl of Northumberland ancestor to his Countess, but had he bin condemned and executed upon a tryall, his estate would have been saved by a prudent Settlement, and he loves to leave a title of honour to his son too well, that cuts his own throt (*sic*) for it; besides that, he might hope for pardon, though he should have been convicted, in consideration of his father's having lost his head for the Crown; at least, he might be assured the King would restore his innocent son upon that account, and, for his personal estate, it is as much forfeited by his murdering himself as it would have bin, if he had bin attainted. Upon the whole, all can be but conjecture, and that is at the best, but a fruitless inquiry into what is known only to God. It is by most conceded to be a high conviction of his guilt, and of ye reality of ye intended Rebellion, but I doe not goe as far as that—there being evidence eno' without it. The news of it came to the Old Bailey a little before, or whilst my Lord Russell was upon his tryall, but I think it had no influence upon the Jury, who brought him in guilty as they had the day before done Walcot, and as it is believed (they) will two or three more this day. This is a subject," said the man, who had looked on so many stricken fields, "I take no delight to write of. That it may contribute the bringing men into their duty and right mind I doe hope, but I cannot but be sorry noe other means will doe it."

Educated as we have been to regard both the fact and the fashion of Lord Russell's condemnation as hideous travesties of justice, it is surprising to find an essentially fair-minded person like Ormonde—opponent though he was—not questioning their equity. Cross-examination in the modern sense was neither practised nor understood in the courts of that period; and Lord Russell, himself, never denied that he was present during the discussion of seditious projects, while the jury had only his word for the assertion that he had discouraged these schemes. Moreover, it is significant that the King, who cannot be described as cruel or revengeful, was firmly convinced of

Russell's guilt; for Charles was expressing his genuine sentiments when he exclaimed: "If I do not take his life, he will have mine." In these circumstances, the Duke's comments should not be regarded as those of a mere partisan. They are interesting rather as a sample of contemporary Tory opinion — the sanest and most humane shade of Tory opinion.

"I am a witness," the Duke declared, "that all the examinations preparatory to the Trial were taken with all fairness imaginable, and I am told the Judges at the Trial used all proper moderation, some say more, but I confess," said Ormonde, "I love errors on that side better than those on the other, at least, with me, they are more excusable."

If Ormonde could not refuse a measure of pity to some of the victims of the Rye House Plot, it is clear that he had little to spare for Monmouth. Moved, probably, by the belief that the latter "thought he had enough skill to recover his interest with the King, and retain his credit with the party," Ormonde counselled Charles to adopt a firm attitude in dealing with his Absalom.<sup>1</sup> It was mainly on Ormonde's advice that Charles insisted on Monmouth's committing to paper a confession which, with every sign of penitence, he had already made to the King of his share in the conspiracy. On the condition that it should not be used against his associates, Monmouth acquiesced.<sup>2</sup> The same evening, in the Duchess of Portsmouth's drawing-room, he heaped reproaches on his own head, calling himself "a blockhead for being so long in ill company." But when the promised confession was produced, it proved to be such mere verbiage that Ormonde told the King that "it looked rather like a justification of the plot and to make them guilty who had assisted in the prosecution . . . and that he that drew it up had wit enough to know it was ineffectual, and would do ten times more hurt than good."

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 658. Ormonde to Arran, St James Square, 13th December 1683.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 654.

know not how to describe the figure the Duke of Monmouth makes, nor fancy what course of life he can propose to himself. It must be left to time, chance, and his worse advisers to discover."

It was not only public cares that pressed heavily on Ormonde during this eventful year. In the course of the summer, the Duchess, who had long been ailing, fell dangerously ill. When she rallied, moved, it appears, less by the hope of a cure than by the unselfish desire to spare the Duke the sight of her last moments, she determined to go to Bath. She could not, however, deceive his solicitude, and the parting between them was attended "with as much unwillingness as if soul and body were on the point of separation."<sup>1</sup> It was probably under the influence of these farewells that Ormonde unbosomed himself to Arran, in a strain highly characteristic both of his own feelings and of the piety of that age.

"Your mother is gone towards Bath," he wrote, "by the advice of Phisitians, having had a very ill and weakening fit of her constant infirmity. I know," said the Duke, striving after that complete spirit of submission which since Ossory's death he had sought to achieve, "I know it is more reasonable I should own God's great mercy in keeping her alive so long, than to be troubled on ye approaches of a separation which cannot be far off. I know she thinks herself nearer the end than she will own to me, or than I hope she is, and that she resolved upon her moving to Bath for fear of giving me the grief to see her die, though I am prepared for it almost as well as I am for the parting that must be betwixt my body and soul. This," he concludes, "is too much on this subject, God's blessed will be done."<sup>2</sup>

The Duchess's self abnegation was rewarded. The cure at Bath proved successful, and she returned to London with Ormonde. Their domestic peace, was, however, short-lived. In February, Ormonde fell ill, and, judging from Arran's letters, his condition must have

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 664.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccxix. f. 502. Ormonde to Arran, 2nd August 1683.

caused acute anxiety to that most affectionate of sons. But the Duke's recurrent attacks of gout, long and severe though they were, had not yet sapped the resisting powers of a naturally magnificent constitution. Slowly but surely he crept back to life; and when the news of the great fire at Dublin Castle reached him, he faced this fresh trouble with all his old accustomed calm. Perhaps some of this calm was due to the knowledge that the King had not lost much in losing his chief Irish residence. Every Governor and Deputy in succession had detested the Castle. Every Governor and Deputy had tinkered at his enforced abode—half fortress and half mansion—and with sorry results. Even in the first moments of the disaster, Arran could philosophically remark: "I find that the King has lost but six barrels of powder, and the worst castle in the worst situation in Christendom."<sup>1</sup> On investigation it proved, indeed, that Ormonde's and Arran's joint losses were uncontestedly heavier than the Sovereign's, for the furniture, which belonged either to Ormonde or to his son, was completely destroyed, but when the Duke learnt the risks that son had run, nothing but thankfulness remained to him. As he said "Arran's preservation after" (note the "after") "he had performed all his duty, outweighs the loss sustained," and solemnly he reminded the Deputy that he could not be "too greatly sensible of God's goodness at his deliverance."<sup>2</sup> Ormonde did not exaggerate the Deputy's perils. It appears that between one and two o'clock on Sunday morning, April the 7th, 1684, Arran was awakened by a "crackling noise" and a smell of smoke proceeding from his dressing-room, a small room lately built by Essex between the Deputy's bed-chamber and the Castle wall. On getting up and opening the door, he was met by a blast of heat and a cloud of smoke that took away his breath.<sup>3</sup> Happily for him, there was a second exit to the room, so hastily closing his door on the

<sup>1</sup> Carte, MSS., vol. ccix. f. 2. Arran to Ormonde, 7th April 1684.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, f. 40. Ormonde to Arran, 15th April 1684.

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<sup>3</sup> "A great Archbishop, Life of Archbishop King," pp. 62-3. Letter to Rev. W. King from P. Dun, 8th April 1684.

furnace outside, and without even pausing for his clothes, he rushed forth, crying: "Fire! Fire!" After rousing the household, and putting his baby daughter in safety, his first care was to order powder to blow up the dressing-room, where the fire had originated, and the adjoining wing. This was no panic-stricken resolve, for these apartments alone separated the raging flames from the north-east, the powder tower. Indeed, if amongst the townsfolk of Dublin there were any who had joined in the censure lavished on the authorities for storing military supplies outside the shelter of the city walls, they must, by now, have been bitterly repenting of their strictures. For it was not only the inhabitants and immediate neighbours of the Castle who were endangered. Close to the north-east tower were stacked huge masses of coal, which would have acted as a train to carry the conflagration to the chief magazine. Had the flames reached this store, a very great part of the city, as the Archbishop of Armagh told Ormonde, would probably have been buried in ruins. The affrighted population fully realised their peril, and, according to the prelate, were prepared "rather for a sudden destruction, than hoped for a preservation."<sup>1</sup>

To make matters more comfortable, the Government engineer, the one person whose presence seemed indispensable, was not forthcoming. Arran, however, undertook to fulfil his duties, and—still in his shirt—proceeded not merely to give orders, but with his own hands to lay the train. Mercifully he was successful. All Lord Essex's additions to the Castle, the long gallery,—the same, doubtless, where years ago Ormonde had nearly been stabbed by a treacherous fanatic—"My Lady's drawing-room and my Lord's closet," were shattered by the explosion.<sup>2</sup> The sacrifice was considerable, though Essex's gratification in his new buildings was probably incomparably less than Arran's joy when he saw the new masonry flying sky high, and a space interposed between

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccxxii. f. 143. Archbishop of Armagh to Ormonde.

<sup>2</sup> "A great Archbishop, Life of Archbishop King," pp. 62-3. Letter to Rev. W. King from P. Dun, 8th April 1684.

the raging fiery furnace and the danger zone. His next object was to save the Tower, where the records were kept—possessions highly valued by the Lord-Lieutenant; and here, again, happily for posterity, Arran's energy was rewarded. The Tower was saved. The Lord - Deputy could breathe once more—and he could dress. It was between one and two when the fire was discovered, at four o'clock its progress was arrested, but it was six before my Lord-Deputy thought of his toilet. His garments had vanished with the rest of his household gear, and he must have been sincerely grateful to the friends—of whom Lord Longford was one—who supplied him with “lining and a suit of clothes.” Thus ended one of the greatest perils that ever threatened Dublin—ended, too, as Arran acknowledged, without any one being killed or “ill-hurt.” Like his father, though his pecuniary loss was heavy, Arran's dominant sensation was one of relief, nor did he fail to give devout expression to his thankfulness.

Ormonde had now spent two years in England, and, in the spring of 1684, he at length saw a likelihood of returning to Ireland. The question of calling a Parliament in Dublin caused, however, some further delay. Ormonde had so frequently and so fruitlessly advocated its meeting that, in desperation, he refused to return to the charge. Moreover, the ill-deeds of the Popish Terror were coming home to roost. During that crisis, it will be remembered that the Irish Council had been instructed to devise legislation of an additionally severe type against Papists. Happily, these designs had met with interruptions. But the drafts for the proposed Acts were now ready, and were consequently transmitted to England ; and although a vastly different order of ideas had meanwhile obtained in the Government, and odious as these projects actually appeared to those in authority, it was not altogether easy to drop them if repressive measures were taken against Protestant Nonconformists. As the simplest way out of the difficulty, the Government accordingly renounced the intention of calling a Parliament in Dublin and merely appointed a “Commision of Grace” to remedy defective

titles. The Commission duly sat in Dublin until the death of Charles II., and was then dissolved.

It was a disappointment to Ormonde not to be empowered to summon Parliament. But he would not have purchased the right to do so at the cost of endorsing the two proposed Bills—one for depriving Catholic Peers of their votes, and the other for inflicting the death penalty on certain specified classes of the Popish clergy. He told Arran that if he had been at Westminster when the expulsion of the Romanist peers from the House of Lords was decided he would, in "conscience and prudence," have given his vote against it,

"in conscience," said the Duke, "because I know no reason why opinion should take away a man's birthright . . . and I think it highly imprudent for the House of Peers to show the way of turning out one another by majority of voices."<sup>1</sup>

On higher grounds, he was also glad that the Bills should be rejected, "for upon serious and cool thoughts I am against all sanguinary laws in matters of religion, so-called."

Ormonde did not reserve his tolerance for Catholic recusants. He was willing that Justices of the Peace and officers of the army and militia in Ireland should not be qualified for office unless they had satisfied the requirements of the Test Act. But he was strongly opposed to the introduction into Ireland of the Penal Statutes against Protestant dissenters, which were in force in England. He told the Archbishop of Armagh that the condition of affairs in the two countries being totally different, a uniform code of laws could not be applied. And he reminded His Grace that not only were there no laws in Ireland

"purposely made against dissenters that call themselves Protestants, but that there being laws in force against Papists, it may be of ill-consequence to turn the Edge of those very laws upon pretended Protestants whilst

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 662. Ormonde to Arran.

they are silenced as to Papists, and to put them into Execution against both would be an intolerable disturbance to a great part of the inhabitants and may possibly," said the astute Duke, remembering, doubtless, that his correspondent was a State Official no less than an Ecclesiastic, "have ill-effects upon trade and commerce, and, consequently, upon the King's revenue. These considerations have hitherto, and I think must still stand between Nonconformists of all sorts, and the execution of those laws we have, till such may be thought of as may be fitted for persons, sects and times, and that it may be in the power of the Government to forbear to execute them as shall be advisable,"<sup>1</sup>

or, in other words, until the Greek kalends.

This style of reasoning bears a family likeness to that employed twenty-four years earlier by Ormonde, when trying to persuade the French Ambassador that fair treatment to Huguenots would enable him to be equally liberal in his dealings with His Most Christian Majesty's co-religionists in Ireland. There may have been something of the wisdom of the serpent in so nice an adaptation of arguments to his audience, but it was the wisdom which we are told is compatible with the harmlessness of the dove. Reciprocity was a plea that might commend itself to the Grand Monarque; while the Archbishop of Armagh, as a good Protestant, would dislike preferential treatment of Papists scarcely less than in his secular capacity he would deprecate any tampering with the royal Revenue. On the other hand, to have talked to either of these great personages about the iniquity of penalising "religion, so-called," would have been sheer waste of time — if no worse. Yet if he invoked purely utilitarian motives when dealing with the latter, it is clear that the one sect of Christians, who, at that sad period, put liberty of conscience in the forefront of their creed, were in no doubt as to Ormonde's sentiments. William Penn, it is true, was on terms considered almost scandalously friendly with the bigoted James II.; and it may consequently be unwise

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxviii. f. 384. Ormonde to Archbishop of Armagh, 17th February 1683-4.

to draw far-reaching deductions from the letter that Penn at this very period addressed to the Lord-Lieutenant. It is permissible, however, to take it as evidence of easy and sympathetic intercourse between the two—the man who had striven to bring prosperity to a land old in sorrows, and the man who was building up a free new state across the ocean. And, at any rate, Ormonde would thoroughly have endorsed Penn's declaration, "I know of no religion that destroys courtesy, civility, and kindness."

Penn's primary object in writing to Ormonde was to convince the Duke—if he needed convincing—that the Friends had borne no part in the so-called Presbyterian plot. It was an admirable text for a sermon on tolerance, and Penn did not lose the opportunity of dealing faithfully with the Duke on the duties and, above all, on the limitations of the magistrate's office. He duly reminded Ormonde that

"plain justice and sobriety are the end of Government, and the reason of that extraordinary power not to vex men for their belief and modest practice of that faith with respect to the other world, in which Province and Sovereignty temporal Power reaches not, from its very nature and end."<sup>1</sup>

The tone of the homily implies an assurance of agreement, in essentials, with its hearer, no less than it conveys a sense of the affection and respect for "his noble old friend" which "former obligations had made indelible" with Penn. Again, although Penn, perhaps inevitably, alludes to the "great and general Assize of the World" awaiting those in power, he does not confine himself to matters eschatological. On the contrary, he takes pains to supply Ormonde with information on subjects purely secular, and subjects which he must have known would interest the Duke. Thus, after describing the growth of the promising young colony, he carefully tells Ormonde that in that favoured land "no setting dogs to ketch partridges" were

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. cxix. pp. 6-7. W. Penn to Ormonde, Philadelphia, 11th January 1683.

needed, the obliging fowl running “by droves into the house in cold weather,” while “of cattle we have the horse, not very handsome but good.” Nor are references to carnal topics lacking. “The best duck and teal I ever ate,” the “excellence” of snipe, and—Heaven forgive him!—curlew, are also recorded with true gusto. Moreover, not content with enumerating these signs of “the bounty of God,” he is eager to give Ormonde a share in these bounties, assuring the Duke that the next ship should bring him “a present of the country’s growth, as a sign of respect,” thus showing that it was no idle compliment when he subscribed himself,

“one who in all places and conditions, with zeal and pleasure study to approve myself, my noble friend, thy affectionate and faithful friend to serve thee in what I can.—

“WILLIAM PENN.”

Greatly as he differed from his father, Lord Ossory had inherited the sailor-earl’s love of fighting. Although England was then at peace with the world, in Flanders, the cockpit of Europe, a young soldier could learn his trade, William of Orange being once more engaged in his life-long duel with Louis XIV. Lord Ossory had hereditary claims to a welcome from the Prince; and in April 1684 he obtained his grandfather’s permission to make the coming campaign under William. Ormonde foresaw that the Dutch and Spanish armies would not long be able to hold out against the overwhelming forces Louis could bring into the field, but the shortness of the military operations was no reason against Lord Ossory offering his services. The great expense of his equipment, as Ormonde confessed, was certainly inconvenient. Financial considerations, however, had never ruled his decisions; and he remarked that “they were as nothing in comparison to the advantages it may be to (Ossory) to remove him from a very idle slothful way of life,”<sup>1</sup> into which, much to his sorrow, his heir had relapsed. Lord Ossory accordingly departed for the camp at Luxembourg, but

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccxx. ff. 34-5. Ormonde to Arran, 8th April 1684.

his experience of the simple life, so vainly desiderated for him by his grandfather, was brief. In the beginning of June, Ormonde's ominous expectations were realised. Luxembourg surrendered to the French, and negotiations for a twenty years' truce were opened by the belligerents. There was no object in prolonging Ossory's stay abroad ; and Ormonde, who was on the eve of departure for Ireland, summoned his grandson home to bear him company. The young man obeyed, but when he arrived in London, in July, he found that the journey had necessarily been deferred owing to his grandmother's serious illness. He only arrived to bid her good-bye. Elizabeth Ormonde's strength was exhausted, and on July the 21st she passed away. Prepared as he was for the event, her loss was none the less a calamity to Ormonde, and on his own death-bed he referred to the day of his bereavement as "the most melancholy of his life." It could scarcely have been otherwise. Fifty-four years had passed since they had plighted their troth to one another. During that half century, sorrows, turmoils, cares must have outweighed the sum of honours and applause which seemed to have been so lavishly bestowed on the pair, and, throughout, James Butler himself did not show a more undaunted front to ill fortune than did Elizabeth Ormonde. Born of a race of fighters, the ideal soldier's mate, her wise self-controlled spirit enabled her to fill the yet more difficult part of an exile's wife with never failing intelligence and dignity. She was still a young woman when she found herself condemned to separation from the husband who was ever the object and aim of her existence. The loneliness of those years, when she could not even share Ormonde's perils, or lighten his privations, must have been terrible, but no whisper of repining reaches us. She ruled her family in the fear of the Lord, she rebuilt her ruined steadings, she planted trees. There are worse ways of cheating misery and despair. When Fortune's Wheel turned anew, her dominant thought was to befriend those who had helped her in her hour of need, though she did not wait for prosperity to show mercy to the

poor. At all times they were her special care. Her roof sheltered the homeless of all conditions, in war, the orphans of the massacres, in banishment, the only woman she had ever known as a rival, in affluence, those who for the faith's sake were fleeing their native land. Of faults, failings, and prejudices, undoubtedly, she had her share. She was openhanded to the verge of prodigality, and we may safely assume that, good Christian though she was, she never found it in her heart to suffer fools gladly, or to love her Lord's enemies. But in the weightier matters of the Law, Elizabeth was worthy to be a hero's wife—to be James Butler's wife. And if Ormonde's magnanimous loyalty was never outworn, he owed no petty share of his patient strength to the trusty friend, the faithful helpmate, the loving woman who never failed him in his need.

## CHAPTER XIII

### THE END

WHEN the Duchess was laid to rest in the vault at Westminster, which held the remains of her firstborn, and where, four years later, Ormonde was to rejoin her, the Duke took instant steps to proceed to Ireland, for, now that he was a solitary man, he craved with yet greater intensity, to return to the ordered routine of official work awaiting him at Dublin. "Business which was otherwise irksome, was now," he wrote to Southwell, "his best remedy for the whole day."<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this same reason made him tolerant of the troops of strangers who flocked around him during the journey, although the vastness of his personal retinue might well have overtaxed the patience of a man labouring under a heavy bereavement. For not only did Lord and Lady Ossory, his Chaplain, the future Bishop of Worcester, and a train of six coaches and forty servants on horseback form his immediate suite, but an equal number of noblemen and gentlemen made it a point of honour to see the Duke on his way.<sup>2</sup> At every stage, he was met by the gentry of the neighbourhood, to whom he had sent notice of his advent. When he arrived at a town, his insignia of office, the Lord Steward's white staff, which otherwise reposed in his coach, was brought out and delivered to one of his gentleman, who carried it bareheaded on horseback before him. It is not astonishing to learn that this quasi-royal progress absorbed most, if not all, of the £3,000 allowed to a Lord-Lieutenant for his travelling

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxix. f. 75. Southwell's Memorandum.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. iv. p. 700.

expenses, but the Duke would have regarded it as a breach of the proprieties to economise on money given for a specific purpose.

The most remarkable feature of the programme, however, is the capacity for patient endurance of ceremonial it reveals—a capacity surely peculiar to our forefathers. Nowadays, even a Hohenzollern, in the prime of life and the best of spirits, would feel such endless pageantry a strain upon his energies.

Amongst the friends, who accompanied Ormonde during his pilgrimage to Holyhead, was Southwell, who contrived to obtain some interesting conversation with the Duke on the political situation he had left at Whitehall. During the last few months the scene had shifted not a little. Owing to Halifax's censure of Rochester's finance, the two statesmen, who had never seen eye to eye, were now ranged in open opposition to one another. Thanks to the support afforded him by Sunderland, the Duke of York, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, Rochester contrived for a time to weather the storm, but as the months went by, Fortune seemed rather to favour Halifax.<sup>1</sup> In the teeth of James's opposition, he effected the release of Danby from the Tower. Fear of the Prince's pro-Catholic policy brought him the alliance of Lord-Keeper Guilford, reckoned an uncompromising Tory one short year ago by so good a judge as Ormonde; while even the King himself, disquieted by his brother's methods, showed signs of inclining towards the Trimmers. The dismissal of Robartes, Earl of Radnor, from his post of Lord President led to a redistribution of offices. To his own indignation and Halifax's delight, Rochester, in the latter's famous and felicitous phrase, was "kicked upstairs," being forced to content himself with Lord Radnor's late sinecure. The precedence enjoyed by the Lord President did not reconcile Rochester to being shunted into pompous obscurity; and in his anger, he declared himself willing, in spite of his close alliance with Ormonde, to accept the succession to the Viceroyalty.

<sup>1</sup> Lodge, "Political History" pp. 232-3.

If in their final development all these events were still in the making, whilst Ormonde was slowly wending his way to Ireland, already when he left Whitehall, it was clear that changes were impending, and Southwell was astonished to find that the Duke had no misgivings with regard to his personal position. In fact, he actually told Sir Robert that on this occasion "he left but few enemies behind him."<sup>1</sup> This unusually optimistic mood was apparently due to the belief that, for once, his two most dangerous foes had no reason to wish him ill. Lord Ranelagh's interminable case was still undecided. At His Majesty's "express commands he had desisted from all prosecutions as to the Earl of Ranelagh's arrears." And quite recently, Colonel Talbot, a foe of twenty years standing, had paid the Duke "thanks for concurring to his coming over from Paris, where he had remained from the Popish Plot." As to the King, Ormonde told Southwell that he "had only muttered, and but slightly, of some defects in the Army, and somewhat of the Stores." Ormonde should have remembered that the King hardly ever blamed a servant to his face; and Colonel Dick's smooth sayings ought to have additionally placed him on his guard, but his recent bereavement may well have made him less observant than was his wont. Later—a very little later—it transpired that Colonel Talbot had utilised the permission to revisit his native land to conduct an extensive though discreet survey of affairs military. It was on his report that a complete "reformation," *i.e.*, Catholicising of the Irish army, was planned—a reformation carried out two years subsequently by the Duke of Tyrconnel.

James, as we know, had never loved Ormonde. If he had urged his appointment to the viceroyalty, it was merely to prevent that of Monmouth, and the recollection of those days of storm and stress had already waxed dim. Ormonde was a staunch Church of England man. For all his devotion to the Crown, there were some tasks he might decline; in which case the knowledge that the

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxix. f. 76. Southwell's Memorandum.

Protestant Duke had excused himself from carrying out James's behests would scarcely have increased that Prince's popularity with the public. Rochester was also a convinced Anglican, impartially detesting Protestant Non-conformists and Romanist recusants, but Rochester could only hope to keep himself afloat with the help of his exalted relative, and was consequently a fitter tool for James's hand. As to the supreme fount of authority, the Monarch himself was not likely at this crisis to defend Ormonde. Vacillating between James and Monmouth, Halifax and Sunderland, Charles may have felt he could purchase an interval of peace by sacrificing Ormonde to James. Charles had never harboured undue scruples of fidelity; and so while the old Duke sat serenely chatting to Southwell his dismissal was already determined.

Ormonde's announcement of his arrival in Dublin scarcely savours of the official despatch.

"Perhaps," he told Rochester, "it may be forgotten that the first question your daughter asked me when we came into the Gate was the way to the Playhouse, the way to the Church was enquired for next!"<sup>1</sup>

Poor, pretty Lady Anne! her playhouse days were to be so few that a certain pathos attaches to this mild jest. Meanwhile, no less unconscious of the approaching end of his great career, than was the young bride of her impending fate, Ormonde refused to credit either Sir Robert Southwell's hints, or even his warnings. "They begin very early," he told that good friend, "that before I am warm in my post here, or my head settled from the agitations of the sea, find objections to my conduct."<sup>2</sup>

Ormonde was probably strengthened in his complacency by the knowledge that the account of the condition of Ireland, which Arran was charged to carry to the King, was such as to command more than mere approbation.<sup>3</sup> Never before in all the time he had "had

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. i. f. 348. Ormonde to Lord Rochester, Dublin, 26th August 1684.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 669. Ormonde to Southwell, 8th September 1684.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, p. 170. Ormonde to King Charles, 26th October 1684.

the honour to serve Your Majesty, and the King your father in the place I am in," said the veteran statesman, could he have given so satisfactory a report of the peaceful and "submissive" state of the country. The Duke's letter bears the date of October the 26th, 1684. As he was drawing up the account of a stewardship which in bygone days had seemed well-nigh desperate, on his side the King, at Newmarket, was writing to inform the Lord-Lieutenant that he had no further need of his services. Matter apart, there is little cause to quarrel with the tone of the royal missive. It was ever difficult for Charles to be ungracious.<sup>1</sup>

"I find it absolutely necessary," he wrote, "for my service that very many and almost general alterations should be made in Ireland, both in the Civil and Military parts of the Government, that several persons who were recommended by you (and who were fit to be so at the time) must now be removed; which I think would be too hard to impose upon you to be the director of. For which reason, and others of the like nature, I have resolved to put the Government into another hand, and have made choice of my Lord Rochester, who is every way fit for it and in one respect fitter than any other man could be; which is, that the near relation which he has to you makes your concerns, and those of your family, to be his, and he will have that care of them which I desire may be always continued. And because I would have this alteration appear with all regard and consideration that I have for you, I offer it to you, yourself to propose in what manner you would have it done, and afterwards, if you choose to stay in that country, all who I employ shall pay you all respect your merit and long constant services can expect; and whenever you come hither, you shall receive the same marks of my kindness, esteem, and confidence you have hitherto had; and this you may depend upon. Nothing I have now resolved on this subject shall be public till I hear from you, and so be sure of my kindness.—

"C. R."

James also addressed a letter to Ormonde. He was good enough to tell the Duke that his brother's decision

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 166. Charles II. to Ormonde, Newmarket, 19th October 1684.

was due to no "unkindness" but to the belief that certain alterations were necessary for his service, and this, added the tactful Prince, would be made apparent to all and sundry by the choice of his successor.<sup>1</sup> It was perhaps not James's fault that, unlike his elder brother, he had not, as his devoted follower, Lord Ailesbury, laments, "words at will." It was not the least, however, of what may be euphemistically termed the future James II.'s misfortunes.

The habitual simplicity of Ormonde's style, all the more remarkable in an age of verbiage, is particularly apparent in his acknowledgment of the royal communication. After telling Charles that he had received his letter with all duty and submission, he proceeds:—

"I must ever acknowledge the gracious consideration you have been pleased to have of me in all the circumstances that attend the significations of your pleasure, particularly in the choice of my Lord of Rochester, and the care you have had of me and my family in it.

"I am willing to make use of the liberty Your Majesty is pleased to give me, to offer what I wish in the executing of your pleasure, having so absolutely and without the least reluctance, but rather with satisfaction resigned myself to it in the matter; but since Your Majesty allows me to propose, I humbly offer that if it may consist with Your service, my remove may be not in the winter; an unfit season for an old man to travel in, or for any man to make provision for his future residence.

"I would further wish, that if it be not too late, Your Majesty's resolution may be such a secret as it is, till near the time my lord Rochester shall be ready to prepare for his journey.

"The choice Your Majesty is pleased to give me of staying here or going to England with the assurance of your favour and protection in either place, was soon made, and immediately determined to attend your person, and to perform, as well as I shall be able, the duty of the place I yet hold by Your Majesty's bounty, for which and the rest I am most thankful, and pray to God to direct and prosper you."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. pp. 166-7. Duke of York to Ormonde, Newmarket, 21st October 1684.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 170. Ormonde to Charles II., Dublin, 3rd November 1684.

To the Duke of York Ormonde's acknowledgment was briefer. Had he been consulted with regard to his successor, he would himself, he declared, have selected Rochester. And he contented himself with assuring James that the Prince's acceptance of his duty and service were of "infinite value to His Royal Highness's most dutiful and obedient servant."<sup>1</sup> Phrases there were none, the Duke's letter being severely, though politely, to the point.

If Charles had experienced some difficulty in penning his letter of dismissal to Ormonde that difficulty must have been increased tenfold in Rochester's case. Loyalty to political colleagues was neither expected or practised under the second Charles. Still there were degrees of disloyalty which awakened unfavourable comment, and the ousting of a close ally for mere personal advancement might be held to come under the ban; and, if political alliances counted for little, family ties counted for much. Only recently, Rochester had married his daughter to Ormonde's grandson and heir, and the young couple were actually living under the Duke's roof at that very moment. The path of the Viceroy designate was therefore not wholly strewn with roses, as he, indeed, perceived, for in the humblest fashion Rochester hastened to deprecate the anger of the man, who might well feel himself wronged. After reminding the Duke that he had sought to prepare him for the coming change by "hinting" at Charles's dissatisfaction with some of the Irish officers, and assuring him that he had done all in his power to avert the blow, with the courage of desperation, he plunged into the very heart of the subject.

"I am not insensible," he said, "how hard a construction it may bear in the world, that a man so much concerned as I am to support all your interests, should appear, as it were, undermining you in one of your most eminent stations. Neither am I ignorant that if you are not well satisfied to leave your employment, no man that is to succeed you will find great comfort to himself or be well able to do the King great service in it."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 167. Ormonde to Duke of York, 3rd November 1684.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 168. Rochester to Ormonde, 3rd November 1684.

He could only hope, he continued, that the reasons he had alleged would convince the Duke that he had not been the adviser of his displacement. Moreover, if this change was bound to come, he dared to flatter himself that Ormonde would not be displeased to have him for a successor, since "he could never have an interest different to Ormonde's." And as he must ever depend upon Ormonde's assistance, protection and advice, so he would make it "his whole buisness" to let the Duke see that he was "His Grace's most faithfully and entirely." Whether Ormonde took this protestation at its literal value is doubtful. Judging from his indignant comments on Rochester's "deceitfulness," Arran, at any rate, remained utterly incredulous. Ormonde's sense of duty and dignity restrained him from allowing any signs of petulance to transpire in his answer to Rochester, though some slight suspicion of irony is discernable. He assures Rochester that he feels the subject of their correspondence

"as tender for me to write upon, as it was for you"; and again, "I can truly say I am much concerned for the construction that may be made by those that are not well acquainted with either of us upon this occasion. But the greatest satisfaction I can have on this point, is that like other things of this nature a little time will wear it off. And the less will serve when it will appear how much we support each other's interest, and how unanimously we shall promote the King's service in our several employments. Mine, indeed, will afford me fewer opportunities, but I shall omit none that shall be offered." One rebuke, which loses nothing by its mildness, he does permit himself. "It was unhappy (but I must impute it to my own dulness) that it did not enter into my imagination that this change would happen so soon. If it had, I think I could have given the King's good nature and tenderness for my concernment and satisfaction some ease, and prevented some inconvenient discourses upon the matter; for which as I shall not give the least ground, so I hope none of them shall be put upon my account."<sup>1</sup>

Certainly, throughout this episode, Ormonde turned

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 167. Ormonde to Rochester, 3rd November 1684.

any discomfiture intended him against his ill-wishers. It is true that neither the King, who had got rid of him, nor the minister, who profited by the Duke's dismissal, belonged to this category. Yet it is doubtful whether they can have enjoyed the coals of fire, so courteously heaped on them by Ormonde. Rochester was told that Ormonde would make a point of delivering over the Sword of State to him in person, to mark the difference the Duke wished to make between him and the noblemen who had formerly stood to him in the same relation. And Charles was informed that apart from Ormonde's wish to "distinguish" Lord Rochester, the Duke was also well pleased to save the Sovereign's "charges."

Such was Ormonde's public attitude. It was one at which no man could cavil. To Southwell and to Arran he made no secret of his inmost feelings. Surprise was certainly predominant.

"I have seen and acted a part," he told Sir Robert, "in as many, and some as desperate, revolutions as most men, and thought myself as well armed against surprise; yet to such a friend as you are, I must own that the King's last resolution concerning me and this government, with all the circumstances belonging to it, found me unprovided; yet I assure you I was and am still more out of countenance than sorry. It is true that I shall leave this kingdom in all respects more flourishing and easy to govern than ever I found it. And though there are no difficulties to struggle with, yet the multiplicity of audiences that must be afforded to every man, and the things which of course must pass a chief governor's hand became so burdensome to me, and so endless in prospect that I was determined the next year to beg His Majesty's leave to retire for the rest of my time and to think with less distraction of my approaching dissolution. But it has pleased God (who knows how much I need it) to give me the opportunity sooner; and I hope He will also give me the grace to make use of it."<sup>1</sup>

Much and deservedly as Ormonde trusted Southwell

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 171. Ormonde to Southwell, 3rd December 1684.

it was, however, to Arran alone that he confided the most hurtful feature of his dismissal. One of the kind friends, who exist for such purposes, had informed him that Charles had been heard to say: "Ormonde has grown old and peevish; nothing will content him."<sup>1</sup> That the shaft rankled is shown by the Duke's earnestness in "affirming" that he "has felt no discontent, private or public, until it pleased God to remove his wife. And assuredly grief and peevishness are not the same things," though, with characteristic honesty, he hastens to admit that "the one may produce the other." Harsher comment from the faithful old servant there is none. It is left for us to draw the inference that debonnair as Charles habitually was, in his impatient selfishness he could sometimes be well-nigh as unfeeling as his brother of York.

According to Chief-Judge Keatinge, who, at this time, was in close contact with Ormonde, the "peevishness," if peevishness there was, must have rested with the King rather than with the Duke. Indeed, the account Keatinge gives of Ormonde's activities suggests the septuagenarians of our generation, when old age, or, at least, its disabilities is practically abolished.<sup>2</sup> Even a twentieth-century veteran, who had led Ormonde's hard life, would have no cause to complain if described "as still the selfsame man, early up in his closet until eleven in the morning, three days excepted, when he rides abroad, and abateth nothing of his good, facetious humour." In these circumstances, Ormonde might well have disliked resigning an office, which for the first time in the history of Ireland gave no indication of being troublesome. "For since the first English Conquest, the kingdom was never in such a condition of peace and plenty and improvement." Moreover, as he had frankly admitted a short time previously to Arran, Ormonde's preferences were all for a public career. Only a "splenetic disposition," he held, could be pleased at the substitution of "trivial

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccxx. f. 90. Ormonde to Arran, 20th November 1684.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. ccxvii. ff. 77-8. Lord Chief-Judge Keatinge to Arran, Dublin, December 1684.

divertisements" for important business.<sup>1</sup> And neither by education nor temperament did Ormonde consider himself "fitted for those amusements that many others might, if they would, divert themselves with." In fact, the sole reason to desire retirement that seemed valid to Ormonde was "in order to contemplation, and the securing a happy eternity." For the first time in his strenuous existence, "contemplation" was to be a possibility to Ormonde. Undoubtedly — for he never affected beliefs or sentiments because they were edifying — this possibility did reconcile him to relinquishing his hold on the helm of State; although there were other considerations of a purely secular nature, which must have gone far, not merely to make amends to Ormonde for the impending change, but to convert it almost into a matter of self-gratulation.

As the policy of the future Viceroy was disclosed, Ormonde more and more rejoiced that such tasks had been reserved for Rochester, who, according to the irate Arran, "feared no odium."<sup>2</sup> For, said Ormonde, "if the real intention be to place some Papist in command of the army, I am really glad that it will not be I who am ordered to do it."<sup>3</sup> A month later, he wrote again — this time to Southwell — in even stronger terms:

"I was much to seek what it could be that was fit for the King to command, and yet would be hard to impose upon me to execute. For such things, the King was pleased to say, were to be done by my successor; but now I think the riddle is expounded in the restraints put upon my Lord of Rochester; one whereof is that he shall not dispose of the lowest commissioned officer in the army. I confess it would have been very uneasy to me to have continued in the Government upon these conditions; and I should have thought it not very dutiful to have refused to serve the King upon any terms or in any station. From this difficulty, I thank God and the King, I am delivered, and I am so well pleased that I am, that if it had been told me this was one of the changes intended, I

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 671. Ormonde to Arran.

<sup>2</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccxvii. Arran to Ormonde, London, 6th November 1684.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. ccxx. f. 102. Ormonde to Arran, Dublin, 15th December.

should have owned my remove from the Government for a greater favour than my placing in it in the most prosperous time.”<sup>1</sup>

Although Ormonde—all his life through—had made it his guiding principle to carry out the Sovereign’s orders, he had equally and unflinchingly expounded the disadvantages incident to such orders. Even now, when relieved of all responsibility, he could not feel justified in holding his peace. At the risk of misconstruction, therefore, he made a final protest and appeal to his successor.

“I confess,” he said, “I am at this time confounded in my notions, more than ever I was, not only from the reports we have of almost a total change in all the changeable parts of the Government of this kingdom, but from what the King himself was pleased to intimate to me to the same purpose; for which alteration I must say (let the consequences of saying it be what it will to me) there neither is nor can be any necessity or good reason at this time, and this upon enquiring into particulars, might manifestly appear. And therefore for the honour of the King’s justice in this case, and for his service, I hope that intention will at least again be considered before it be put in execution. I take the liberty to interest the King’s justice in this case; not but that I know His Majesty may justly change his servants and give no reason for it, but if he gives any, that reason should be well grounded especially if it be such as fixes a mark of incapacity or infidelity.”<sup>2</sup>

Rochester’s answer to this adjuration certainly goes far to justify Arran’s contemptuous estimate of his Lordship. Not that Rochester was guilty of any disrespect to Ormonde and to his long experience. On the contrary, the younger man’s deference was almost filial; while with regard to their mutual arrangements, it was no idle compliment when Rochester assured Ormonde—“I wish for nothing, but what is most convenient to Your Grace.” But what can be thought of a minister entrusted with so important a charge, aware that he has been selected largely in order to reverse his predecessor’s policy—and

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 176. Ormonde to Southwell, 6th January 1675.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, pp. 172-3. Ormonde to Rochester, 3rd December 1684.

that a highly successful policy, as the actual state of Ireland demonstrated—and yet confessing that he himself was “not much more in the light”<sup>1</sup> than his alarmed and mystified correspondent? Under the Stuarts’, ministerial responsibility, it is true, was ill defined. Still, then as now, a man of honour would have been reluctant to become the passive instrument of designs which promised to be subversive of the Church and State systems to which he had hitherto professed allegiance.

The closing months of Ormonde’s life in Ireland were not only darkened by patriotic apprehensions, but by fresh domestic cares. He had wished Lord and Lady Ossory to make their home with him whilst he was established at the Castle. In many ways this residence afforded excellent opportunities for initiating his heir into public business. With his retirement however, these reasons came to an end. He felt that the young couple would be better with his successor. Under the latter, as he told Rochester, Ossory could employ himself with the military command obtained for him by his father-in-law, in acquainting himself with his future heritage and “with the people he must have use of.” In England, on the other hand, Ormonde felt pretty certain that the youth would not bestow his time so well; and

“to deal freely with your Lordship,” the Duke continued, “I desire to spend the few years I have to live, or rather the little time I am to be in this world, with as little possibility of disquiet or constraint as I can. I will contribute what I can to their living in ease, but am resolved, if I can, to do so myself.”<sup>2</sup>

That Ormonde’s anxiety for the young peoples’ welfare had suffered no diminution is manifest by his proposal not only to establish them at Dunmore for the summer, during the reconstruction of the Castle, “whilst Dublin will be rubbish,”<sup>3</sup> but also to lend Kilkenny and its park to Lord and Lady Rochester. Doubtless he hoped this arrange-

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 174. Rochester to Ormonde, Whitehall, 13th December 1684.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 173. Ormonde to Rochester, 3rd December 1684.

<sup>3</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccxx. p. 108. Ormonde to Arran, 2nd December 1684.

ment would be a convenience to the Lord-Lieutenant, but his main object in making the offer was to secure her mother's company for Lady Ossory. As he told Arran, "intelligence he had had from the women"<sup>1</sup> about Lady Ossory, made him ardently desire that Lady Rochester should be on the spot to make all the necessary preparations for her daughter's well-being. Kind as he was, the Duke was resolved not to be troubled with "cradles and nurses." Lady Rochester, however, was far away, and long before she could come over to mother the poor seventeen year old wife, fate had intervened.

During the autumn, Lady Ossory was in a condition when, even in a sceptical age, strong-minded women are prone to lay unusual stress on omens and portents; and in spite all her intelligence, unlucky dreams and the number thirteen were real terrors to Lady Ossory. She confided to Ormonde's chaplain, Mr Hough, later Bishop of Worcester, that shortly after her sister, Lady Kildare's death she had dreamt that she heard a knock at the door; and that she had then bade her servants go and see who knocked.<sup>2</sup> But, no one stirring, she went herself—a true nightmare's proceeding for one of her rank—and opened the door to find a woman standing there closely muffled in a hood. In a trice, the wrappings were put aside and she recognised Lady Kildare. "Sister," she cried, "is it you? What makes you come in this manner?" "Don't be frightened," said the phantom, "for I come on a very serious affair, and it is to tell you that you will die very soon." What consolation the Chaplain offered, history does not relate. Anyhow it does not seem to have been effectual. For, when, early in 1685, Lady Ossory died of a miscarriage, he remained convinced that the shock of the vision had helped to kill her.

To Ormonde, the sickness and death of the poor child was no small grief.

"I am not courtier, that is dissembler enough to equal hers with other losses I have sustained of the like kind,"

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccxx. f. 102. Ormonde to Arran, 15th December 1684.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 675.

he told Southwell, "but I assure you her kindness and observance of me and her conduct in general had gained very much upon my affections, and promised so much satisfaction in her that I am extremely sensible of the loss."<sup>1</sup>

A month passed, and tidings reached Dublin which were truly heavy tidings for Ormonde. On February the 6th, 1685, Charles II. had died at Whitehall. Generosity is a strange solvent, but none the less blessed. With the passing of his old master, all save the most tender and regretful memories of Charles passed away from Ormonde's mind. He was quite sincere when he spoke of the King, who had used him, laughed with him, flouted him, and leant on him, as the

"best King, the best Master, and (if I may be so saucy as to say so) the best friend that man ever had. My station, my duty, and my allegiance forced me," he continues, "the very next day after I received the stroke, to ride out to proclaim his successor, to put on the habit and (as well as I could) the countenance of joy and triumph, with dismal sadness at my heart."<sup>2</sup>

Some apprehension of his successor's policy may have mingled with Ormonde's sorrow for the dead monarch. The Duke could honestly affirm that he was not solicitous to know what would become of him—"I leave it to God and the King." But alike as an Irishman and an administrator, he could scarcely view with equanimity those impending changes, which threatened to convert the dearly won peace and prosperity of the country into renewed strife and misery. Nor was he allowed to dream that for the briefest space he might continue to hold the evenhanded scales of justice. Four days after Charles's death, Ormonde received a summons to lay down the Government. Hitherto, it had been the custom for the retiring Lord-Lieutenant to retain his official character until he could resign his powers into the Sovereign's hands. But this was Richard Talbot's hour. The Duke was ordered to divest himself of all

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. v. p. 176. Ormonde to Southwell, 6th January 1684.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 177. Ormonde to Southwell, 13th February 1683-4.

the symbols and outward circumstances of authority before he crossed the Channel. Stripped of every sign of royal favour, he would thus return stamped as a discarded and, consequently, a powerless individual.

If James hastened to thrust Ormonde out of a kingdom, which it had been his life's work to preserve for the House of Stuart, public opinion strove almost defiantly to repair princely ingratitude. In Dublin "consternation appeared on every face."<sup>1</sup> The congregations that now thronged all the Protestant places of worship were unanimous in their belief that they were losing their sole protector. The officials themselves, generally the most cowardly class of the community, plucked up heart of grace, or of despair, and unexpectedly harangued the Lord-Lieutenant on the great services which he had rendered to the country he was leaving.<sup>2</sup> The affectionate concern of his friends and admirers did not cease when he was no longer in their midst. A rumour that Ormonde had been sent to the Tower revealed the prevalent uneasiness on his behalf. Such alarms, were, of course, wholly superfluous and slightly absurd. Even the most stupid of the Stuarts was incapable of this profitless infamy. It is probable that the tale originated in the fact that by way of welcome back to the shores of England, Ormonde was greeted with the intelligence—conveyed through a chance newsletter—that his regiment of horse had been given away—and given away to Dick Talbot.<sup>3</sup>

This was not the only bad news that met Ormonde on his journey. All along the road from Chester to London, veritable Job's messengers laid in wait for the Duke. During the sea voyage, Lord Ossory had been taken so ill that it was thought advisable to leave him with his sister, Lady Derby, at Knowsley. A few stages later, a courier overtook Ormonde with the announcement that the young lord's indisposition had developed into smallpox. A little further on, he heard of the death of two of Lord

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 175.

<sup>2</sup> *Carte MSS.*, vol. ccvii. f. 33. Gerard Bor to Gascoigne, Dublin, 12th April 1685.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. lix. pp. 76-7. Southwell's Memorandum.

Arran's children. In these circumstances, when Southwell met the Duke at Northampton, it is scarcely surprising that he found his venerable friend "a little perplexed." Indeed, it says wonders for the buoyancy of Ormonde's disposition that the interest he took in discussing the match propounded by Southwell between Ossory and Lady Mary Somerset should have restored him to something of his natural serenity. The great ovation he received on arriving in London must also have exercised a cheering influence upon his spirits. On similar occasions, the quality had always flocked to meet him in their coaches. The applause of crowds of humbler folk stationed in front of his house was perhaps a more spontaneous tribute to the integrity of the old statesman's rule. Cold looks from those in high places were no new experience to Ormonde. He could appraise these manifestations at their worth, philosophically remarking that for forty years it had been his fortune to be alternately reviled as a favourer of Popery, or as the greatest persecutor and enemy of Roman Catholics.<sup>1</sup> In truth, the sting was taken from such reproaches by the conviction that throughout he "had been enabled to stand firm to his principle of simply preventing the Romanists from having the power to persecute others"—certainly no mean record during the past forty years.

Somewhat to every one's surprise, the King did not despoil Ormonde of the Lord Steward's Staff; and as at Charles's, so now at James's coronation, Ormonde bore the crown of St Edward before the Sovereign. In May, when the shadow of the coming storm was already over the land, the Protestant Duke was also complimented in the person of his grandson. Lord Ossory was appointed a Lord of the Bedchamber, and served in the operations against Monmouth.<sup>2</sup> The short-lived rebellion having come to an end, Ormonde wrote that he trusted public affairs would

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. ccxx. f. 112. Ormonde to Mountjoy, 25th April 1685.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, vol. cxvii. f. 212. Ormonde to Archbishop of Boyle, July 1685.

"now be prudently managed, so as to establish a lasting peace, secure the Monarchy in the right line, and make the Nation bear such a conspicuous part in Europe, as our situation and strength may naturally challenge."<sup>1</sup>

This letter bears the date of July the 11th, 1685. The battle of Sedgemoor had been fought on July the 5th, and Monmouth was captured on July the 8th. It was still possible, perhaps, for Ormonde to dream dreams of a "prudent" administration at home, of a glorious policy abroad. The Bloody Assize was not yet. Thereafter, the files of Ormonde's correspondence at the Bodleian show few political letters and none as hopeful.

One supreme satisfaction was vouchsafed to Ormonde in that gloomy summer of 1685. The match discussed in the coach between Northampton and London became an accomplished fact. On August the 3rd, Lord Ossory wedded Lady Mary Somerset. The young man was certainly fortunate in his matrimonial ventures. Carte talks of the second wife's "extraordinary merit." It was to her that Dryden dedicated his *Palamon and Arcite*; while even Dean Swift's acrimony was not proof against her engaging charm. Ormonde, who had originally welcomed the alliance on account of Lady Mary's parentage, soon loved her for herself — a love which Lady Ossory, to her credit, be it said, warmly reciprocated; though few young women it is to be hoped could have failed to respond to affection at once so discreet and generous as Ormonde's.

"Next," he told Southwell, "to the satisfaction I have in doing my part towards the happiness of my grandchildren (for so I equally accompt James and his Lady) it pleases me most that they believe I have no private business in this world that shall take up more of my thoughts and endeavours than to lay the foundations of their honour and prosperity; you may then judge how much I take myself to be obliged to you that have taken so much pains to bring the blessing of such a Lady into my Family, and persuaded her and her husband to allow me their

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. cxvii. f. 212. Ormonde to Archbishop Boyle, 11th July 1685.

kindness and company, which is all the retribution I expect or wish for, and I will watch myself," he adds, "the best I can that peevishness shall not creep upon me with years to make my kindnesse troublesome, or my conversation uneasy."<sup>1</sup>

It was well for Ormonde that he found a sympathetic companion in young Lady Ossory, for in February 1686 he lost his last surviving son, Lord Arran. Richard Butler had not the all-conquering quality of his elder brother. Rather amiable than forcible, his virtues and vices alike took their rise in a sincerely affectionate disposition. It was despair at the death of his beloved first wife that drove him to seek forgetfulness in drink. If his second marriage was not so halcyon, at any rate, it provided a cure for this specific failing, and, thereafter, he could never be described as a drunkard, even though more addicted to carousals and festive suppers than was perhaps seemly in a Lord Deputy. Some tale-bearing on this score, in fact, made Ormonde warn his son that if he did not "break off the track of good fellowship, one meeting will produce another and one glass another, and it is an ill habit and reputation a man has got, when it is believed he cannot be well and gratefully entertained unless he be sent drunk away."<sup>2</sup>

Thus it is evident that Lord Arran's chief fault sprang from an excess of good nature, no less than his facility—according to his detractors—in allowing his intimates to influence his decisions and to build up their fortunes on foundations none too equitable. It is only fair, however, to say that many of these accusations owed their origin to the envy, malice, and evil-speaking that permeated official circles in Dublin. At any rate, Arran had an unsimulated horror of jobbery in the Army, while he most certainly acquitted himself of his administrative duties with equal credit and resolution. For these duties he drew his

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. cxxx. p. 224. Ormonde to Southwell, Windsor, 7th August 1685.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 674. Ormonde to Arran, Dublin, 10th December 1684.

inspiration and strength from his single-hearted devotion to the father whom he represented in Ireland—a devotion, which was akin to a religion, pervading all he wrote, and giving an individuality to letters otherwise not remarkable save for common-sense and good feeling. On the occasion of poor little Lord Tullagh's death, his unselfishness finds touching expression in a letter to the Duke.

"Give me leave," he tells Ormonde, "to say this, and I shall never mention him more, that I cannot tell what reflection afflicts me most, that of the loss of an only son, without the probable expectation of another, or the great care and concern both my mother and you have shown and owned in your letters to have for him and for me in this just correction of God Almighty, and I assure Your Grace that it shall be as much my care hereafter to make my nephews worthy of the stock they come from, as I thought it my duty in the case of my own son."<sup>1</sup>

The exact cause of Lord Arran's death does not appear. Judging from a letter of his secretary, Mr Ellis, the unfortunate man must have suffered terribly before the doctors allowed him to die. He was kept alive by cordials, at the cost of so much pain that, for once, Ormonde's courage well-nigh broke down under the strain. Ellis speaks of the "good old gentleman being struck to the brink of the grave with it, being unable to speak but with his eyes brimful as his heart."<sup>2</sup> When the end had come, the same writer notes that Ormonde had never been known to eat or sleep so little, "sit so pensive, fetch such deep sighs, and look so set and stern." In truth, it was no idle figure of rhetoric when Ellis remarked that in Richard Butler, Ormonde had been "deprived of the staff of his age."

These repeated bereavements, following on the disappointments of public life, might well have soured or hardened a disposition less intrinsically noble than Ormonde's. But once again he proved true to the cardinal

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS., Ormonde MSS., vol. vi. p. 81. Arran to Ormonde 11th June 1681.

<sup>2</sup> "Ellis Correspondence," vol. i. p. 28, 23rd January 1686.

principles of his life--duty and loyalty. At the call of an earthly sovereign what of fortune, happiness, and personal pride had he not sacrificed? To show a less devotion when the summons to submission came, as he conceived, from a yet higher Master would have been unthinkable to Ormonde. This point of view is made very clear in a letter to Southwell. After thanking Sir Robert for his sympathy, and remarking that it was an undeserved blessing that so many good men condoled with him, and regretting that he had not previously "made the right use of afflictions of the like nature," he expresses the hope that "God will give me grace to do it now."<sup>1</sup> With Ormonde "contemplation" always had a practical outcome; in this case making him determined that the happiness of his family, now striving to cheat his loneliness by rallying around him, should not be clouded by his own sorrows. He had established himself at Cornbury, Lord Clarendon's seat in Oxfordshire, which that nobleman had either lent or hired to him on his own departure to Ireland. Here "the young Lady and her Lord,"<sup>2</sup> Lord Chesterfield and Betty Stanhope and Lord and Lady Derby came to see him in the middle of February, a period of the year when the Oxfordshire roads must have resembled those, which made Duke Cosmo's journey to Petworth so adventurous. Such a journey was an unmistakable proof of affection, though Ormonde had evidently spared no trouble to ensure the safe arrival of his guests. He told Southwell that he would take care to send some one to meet Lord and Lady Ossory,

"where the worst way begins, to guide them by the best it will afford, and you may be sure," he adds, "strict charge is given to the coachman to drive slowly and carefully when he meets with rugged steps. Thus I am fain to draw as many as I can of those God has sent and left me together, that I may turn my thoughts to them and divert them from my losses as far as that can be. But I will take care," he says, "that whatever is within, my guests

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS., Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. ii. p. 302. Ormonde to Southwell, 2nd February 1686.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.* Ormonde to Southwell, 17th February 1686.

shall find no trouble or discomposure from it. As much as I wish to see you here, I would not have it with the least danger of your relapsing by taking cold, and therefore I pray let your health be confirmed before you venture on the journey."

Although Rochester had preferred Ormonde's place to the sinecure of the Presidentship of the Council, he was relieved when James's accession enabled him, as he thought, to gratify his ambition without crossing the Channel. Immediately on his accession, the new Sovereign appointed Rochester Lord High Treasurer, and his brother, Lord Clarendon, Lord Privy Seal. The change was, however, more apparent than real, for Rochester soon discovered that he enjoyed little power in his new post, Godolphin and Sunderland being the real directors of the Governmental policy. Nevertheless, until James broke openly with the Established Church, he found the staunch Protestantism of his two brothers-in-law a valuable asset. Rochester was accordingly retained in office until January 1687, and Clarendon was despatched in Rochester's stead to Ireland in January 1686. But ere the latter could reach Dublin, James had already discarded the mask of moderation, which he had carefully worn until Monmouth was crushed, and the most insanely royalist Parliament ever returned at English polls had voted him the largest Revenue hitherto granted to a King of England. The time had now come when he thought himself enabled openly to pursue the aims he had long cherished. The majority of English Roman Catholics would have been amply contented with a modest measure of tolerance for themselves and their creed, and it was James himself who would stop at nothing less than the repeal of the Test Acts of 1673 and 1678. The first victim to the King's plan of campaign was Halifax. The great Trimmer refused to lend himself to either of these proceedings, or to the repeal of the Habeas Corpus Act. In October 1685 his name was struck off the roll of the Privy Council. Parliament was ready to make considerable concessions to the Kings' natural sympathies for his co-religionists. They

would not, however, allow Romanists to hold commissions in the standing army, which James was sedulously fostering, and in which the bulk of the nation despaired a direct menace to their faith and liberties. And both Houses showed so plainly that they had no intention of gratifying James's wishes, that, in November, the King prorogued Parliament.

Thus was it brought home to James that there were limits to the subserviency of Parliament and Church, and that if he persevered in his policy, he must look to other men and methods to carry out his schemes. Naturally enough, Catholic Ireland played a large part in these projects, for she provided an ideal nursery for an army, and especially for an army of true believers. Yet even James — who had nothing of his brother's masterly procrastination — recognised that the entire administration of Ireland could not be forthwith transformed. Hence the selection of Clarendon to assuage any inconvenient anxiety on the part of its Protestant inhabitants until the King's preparations were complete. The expedient met with success. Entirely reassured they were not. But the cordial reception accorded to Clarendon's announcement that the King intended to maintain the Land Settlement, proved that the appointment of a viceroy, whose words carried credence, was a shrewd stroke of business. Probably, Clarendon himself believed he was speaking the truth; though he should have realised that it was utterly beyond his power to shape the royal policy to his own liking, for Talbot, now Lord Tyrconnel, had been likewise despatched to Ireland as Commander-in-Chief with independent, nay, with supreme, authority. The plans that Tyrconnel had conceived two years earlier, when Ormonde believed that he was simply taking an exile's delight in restoration to his native land, could now be fulfilled; and in the Clarendon correspondence we get glimpses of the fashion in which they were executed. At the beginning of July, Clarendon went to Kilkenny to review the troops. The officers, he told Sunderland, were then proceeding so fast in putting

men they did not like out of their companies, and taking in such as they pleased, that in a month or so the whole Army would be composed "as His Majesty would have it."<sup>1</sup> Four hundred men had been weeded out of the Guards alone, their places being supplied by "natives," which Clarendon confessed "hath something contributed to the jealousy people are too much inclined to have." Indeed, it would have been strange if these "people," *i.e.* Anglo-Protestants, had been devoid of jealousies. For to the radical transformation of the army, which was then as much the community's police force, as its defence against foreign foes, was added the "very indiscreet carriage of some of the new officers in declaring they will entertain no Englishmen nor any Protestants."

In this letter, written on July the 6th, 1686, Clarendon gave it as his opinion that in course of time "these jealousies will wear off when they are seen to be groundless." It was a bold assertion. The wish must surely have been father to the thought. On July the 20th he wrote again. He had now a fuller acquaintance with Tyrconnel's methods. He was no longer so confident. Fearful of incurring the King's displeasure by criticising the prime favourite, he did not actually protest against the changes. But he was Chancellor Clarendon's son, and he did implore that the alterations might be made decently and in order. The "new officers" had not contented themselves with discharging those troopers — whole companies in some cases — who suffered from the unpardonable sin of being Englishmen and Protestants.<sup>2</sup> They thrust the latter forth without the certificates which enabled them to claim their arrears of pay. The luckless soldiers were consequently obliged to tramp to Dublin, there to appeal to their superiors, and there to await the paymasters' decision. Even this was made a crime against them. They were represented as guilty of mutiny, although they had

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon S. Papers, vol. Ixxxviii. f. 214. Extract of Lord-Lieutenant's letter to Lord Sunderland, 6th July 1686.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, f. 218. Lord-Lieutenant to Sunderland, 20th July 1686.

confined themselves to presenting petitions signed by groups of two or three, and couched in the most humble language to beg redress of the Lord-Lieutenant.

"I should further add," says Clarendon, "that all ye murmuring I heard of (and one might hear it as one went along the streets) was that ye men, as they walked 2 or 3 together, would bemoane themselves: 'Why,' says one, 'may not I serve the King? I never served under any authority but that of ye Crown.' 'Nor I,' says another, 'and we went last year to England to venture our lives: we are as lusty as those who come into our rooms, and will goe wherever the King bids us.'"

Not content with turning out these poor fellows to shift or starve, Tyrconnel had also devised an incredibly mean scheme for mulcting the cavalry of the price of their chargers—their own private property, bought and paid for with their own money. It was practically their sole capital; and the price of the mounts, if paid down in a lump sum, would have enabled the cashiered privates or non-commissioned officers to buy beasts or sheep to stock a farm. Tyrconnel decreed that the payment should be made by instalments assessed on the wages of the incoming troopers—an arrangement which would force the wretched sellers to fritter away time and money in running backwards and forwards to collect, if possible, their precious dues.

Promises never counted for much with Tyrconnel. To the alterations urged by the Lord-Lieutenant, he cheerfully assented,<sup>1</sup> but in spite of his assurances the men continued to be dismissed wholesale, without the certificates which would have enabled Clarendon to pay their arrears. This was the case, the Lord-Lieutenant ruefully reported with fifty-five out of sixty individuals.<sup>2</sup> The most flagrant example of Tyrconnel's mendacity was, however, connected with the Duke of Ormonde's regiment of foot. In presence of a group of officers, Tyrconnel had solemnly declared that the King desired that no

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon S. Papers, vol. lxxxviii. f. 224. Lord-Lieutenant to Sunderland, 20th July 1686.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, f. 218. Lord-Lieutenant to Sunderland, 20th July 1686.

difference on account of religion should be made between his subjects. But, on leaving the camp, the Commander-in-Chief charged these same officers,

"on their allegiance, to admit none but Roman Catholics into the Duke of Ormonde's regiment. This speech," not unnaturally, "went like wildfire through the country, I can assure you," says the distracted Lord-Lieutenant, "it got to Dublin before me."

Tyrconnel's animus against Ormonde may have been partly responsible for the fact that the brunt of his attacks was borne by the Duke's regiment. For it was the officers who had formerly served on Ormonde's staff, and had subsequently been rewarded with commissions in his regiment of foot, who were first singled out for spoliation. Their sad position greatly affected Ormonde. Many of them, he told Southwell, had come over to England "to shift the best for themselves they can. God speed them well, and help those that cannot come to expose their cases."<sup>1</sup> Their Colonel was not treated with more consideration. As soon as Tyrconnel was firmly in the saddle, Ormonde's commission was made over to Colonel Justin Macarthy. The sole link now allowed to subsist between Ormonde and the army, with which he had been so long and so closely associated, was a troop of horse, bought at the very commencement of his public career fifty years earlier, by the "White Earl."<sup>2</sup> Had he been ejected from this command, the purchase money must needs have been refunded. The authorities at Whitehall recognised that it was better finance to await Ormonde's death. He was nearing his eightieth year. He could not keep them waiting long.

The tales brought over by the cashiered officers must have been peculiarly distressing to the administrator who had recently left Ireland in an unprecedented state of peace and consequent prosperity; and he certainly did not minimise the gravity of the situation. Yet although he had good cause to expect the worst of Dick Talbot,

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS., Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. ii. p. 302. Ormonde to Southwell, 29th April 1686.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 679.

Ormonde did not believe that the Commander-in-Chief would succeed in ruining the Protestant community.

"That the Protestants of Ireland are afraid, and that they do not conceal their fears," he said, "I do not wonder at; but I think they are something mistaken in the grounds of them. It must be by degrees, and it will require some art to destroy that interest by juries and judgments, and time produces many unthought of accidents, whereas insurrections and armed power makes short and irreparable havoc."<sup>1</sup>

Ormonde was right, but like many of his contemporaries he left out of his calculations the possibility of a Roman Catholic heir being born to James. With regard to that solidarity for good or ill of the entire population, which he had long preached to all would-be persecutors, Protestants or Papists, events were rapidly justifying Ormonde.

"I am informed," he says, "that the King's Revenue sinks apace, in so much that my Lord-Lieutenant has ordered the Receiver and Paymaster General not to pay any pension till it shall appear that the Revenue will reach to the payment of the civil and military list; the establishment directing that the first failure shall fall upon the pensioners, who, for much the greater part, are poor Irish and Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, and their necessities will sooner pinch them than the expected restitution will relieve them."

In January 1687 Clarendon was dismissed, Tyrconnel being appointed to his post. Although Clarendon had been a feeble bulwark between the Commander-in-Chief and Irish Protestants, when they realised that their lives and properties were at the mercy of the arch-enemy, they were seized with panic. Writing from London, where he had just arrived after a lengthened absence, Ormonde told Southwell that he found few changes at Whitehall.

"But they say," he continued, "we should know of many and great ones in Ireland, if the winde would favour

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS., Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. ii. p. 303. Ormonde to Southwell, Hampton Court, 3rd May 1686.

the Earl of Tyrconnel's passage. He was yesterday was a sennight at the Head, and I do not observe the wind to have been in the East ever since. Some men, but most women, are come lately over, but I think," he adds, with a flash of his old humour, "less matter than the dread of my Lord Tyrconnel would fright a Lady from Ireland to London."<sup>1</sup>

Lord Clarendon's dismissal was not without influence on Ormonde's domestic arrangements. It is true that Clarendon begged the Duke to remain at Cornbury during the next few months,<sup>2</sup> but the return of his landlord undoubtedly stimulated Ormonde's desire to establish himself in a house of his own. He had already been searching for one, and encountering the disappointments inevitable to that pursuit, Sherborne, Sir Ralph Dutton's mansion was the object of one pilgrimage. It proved unsuccessful; Ormonde sadly confessing "that although he had never been more taken with the outside of a house, he was never more deceived when he came in."<sup>3</sup> Again, he entertained the hope that a certain place in Hampshire might prove suitable, declaring that if the situation and the gardens were to his liking, he would make no objection to the smallness of the house. Although the taste for gardening was scarcely less fashionable among the statesmen and politicians of that time than nowadays, it had never been a favourite pursuit of Ormonde's. He had left such matters to his Duchess. He recognised, however, that the choice of "trivial diversions" must necessarily vary with age, and he was now inclined to follow the example of his friend, Sir William Temple, cultivating his asparagus beds at Moor Park, or his opponent, Lord Shaftesbury, planting groves of filberts at St Giles's. For

"pleasant gardens," he told Southwell, "were an inducement to an old man that must shortly lay aside the

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. i. f. 374. Ormonde to Southwell, Hampton Court, February 1686-7.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. MSS., Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. i. p. 57. Clarendon to Ormonde, 17th January 1686-7.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem*, vol. ii. p. 305. Ormonde to Southwell, 27th October 1686.

thought of field sports, and the steps downwards are very natural from the field to a garden, from a garden to a window, from thence to a bed, and so to a grave."<sup>1</sup>

Eventually, however, it was not in Hampshire but in Dorsetshire, at Kingston Hall, or Kingston Lacy, as it is now called, the property of the Bankes family, that the Duke at last found a home. Nor will it be astonishing to those who have seen Kingston Lacy that Ormonde considered this beautiful Inigo Jones house united as many conveniences as he could hope or desire.

Accordingly, during the brief remainder of his life Ormonde made his headquarters at Kingston Lacy, although, at intervals, he still felt it incumbent on him to attend the King, accompanying the Court to Bristol in August 1686, when James made a progress through the West. This last progress cannot have been an agreeable expedition for the Lord Steward. A gentleman, aptly described by Southwell as "a small courtier," subsequently told Sir Robert that throughout the journey, Ormonde was "less regarded than one of the new Brigadiers, and that he often went to entertain him in pure respect, as troubled to see him neglected by others."<sup>2</sup> James, like most of his race, had a poor memory for past benefits, and since he had parted from Rochester, of whom he was almost fond, simply and solely because his brother-in-law could not see his way to being "converted," he was unlikely to show civility to a heretic, who had never inspired him with much liking. Moreover, before long, even that most impenitent of loyalists was forced to take up a position in direct variance to the King.

Ormonde's household was a veritable school for bishops and deans, and it must be added that they generally did credit to their patron. Amongst the number, was Dr Thomas Burnet, formerly governor to Lord Ossory and now, thanks to Ormonde's protection, Master of the

<sup>1</sup> Hist. MSS., Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. ii. p. 305. Ormonde to Southwell, 29th October 1686.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, MSS., vol. lxix. p. 78. Southwell's Memorandum.

Charter House. Some of the prelates on the Board of the Hospital had objected to Burnet's appointment on the ground that although he was in orders he generally "went in a lay habit."<sup>1</sup> The Duke, on the other hand, taking the evangelical view that the inward man was of more importance than the "exterior habit," championed Burnet on the score of his "conversation and manners, which were worthy of a clergyman in all respects." The Duke's word carried the day. Burnet got the post, Ormonde being thus the means of securing preferment for a man, who, if Addison's judgment carries any weight, is the author of some of the finest pages of prose in the English language. Thomas Burnet was, however, not merely a brilliant man of letters and an original, though somewhat erratic, thinker. He was also possessed of unusual courage and independence. His mettle was quickly put to the test. Faithful to his programme of riding rough-shod over charters and acts of Parliament, James soon directed his attention to the Charter House. In December 1686, a Roman Catholic, Andrew Popham by name, presented a royal letter to Burnet requiring the master instantly to admit him as a pensioner. Burnet was not to be surprised into illegalities. He told Popham that he must await the decision of the governors, and, on the meeting of that body, he made no secret of his views. It fell to him to vote first. Before he did so, he informed the electors that by admitting a pensioner, who had not taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, they would be contravening both the Constitution of the Charter House and an Act of Parliament. One of the governors enquired "What is this to the purpose?" Whereupon the Cavalier Duke, taking up the cudgels, replied "he thought it was very much to the purpose; for an Act of Parliament was not so slight a thing that it could be despised." The Duke's lead was followed, and Popham was rejected. Jeffreys, always skilful at jockeying those he could not bully, was reduced to leaving the Board before the official letter acquainting His Majesty with the Governors' decision could be drafted.

<sup>1</sup> *Carte*, vol. iv. p. 683.

In his train, as he doubtless calculated, hurried all the other time servers. A quorum could not be obtained, and the matter was necessarily deferred until midsummer.

On this occasion, Popham arrived not merely with a nomination from the Sovereign, but with a dispensation under the Great Seal. The nine men who sat in consultation over the documents were not, however, easy to frighten into submission. The letter informing James that they did not feel themselves competent to override the laws of the realm was signed by Ormonde, Sancroft, Halifax, Danby, and Compton. Nevertheless, the King would not own himself defeated. He bade the Lord Chancellor find means "how he might have right done him." But even Jeffreys hesitated to cross lances with that distinguished phalanx. The matter was adjourned until the universities had been brought to their knees. And thus it befell that Andrew Popham was never admitted into Charter House.

Once again, Ormonde found himself obliged to counter the wishes of the Prince for whom he had so long battled. To him, as to certain other great personages, James made a personal appeal for assistance in repealing the Penal Laws and the Test Acts. The King, however, "did not meet with such a return from His Grace as he expected,"<sup>1</sup> and with this attempt ended James's direct attacks on Ormonde's convictions. He was now reduced to indirect methods—and these, it must be owned, were undeniably awkward.

Amongst Ormonde's lifelong friends was the gallant Lord Arundell of Wardour, who had testified for his faith by a protracted imprisonment in the Tower. When his release became possible, it was to the Duke that Arundell applied, begging him to be his bail, adding thereby to the many obligations, which, he vowed, he could never sufficiently "acknolleg."<sup>2</sup> In the year 1687, this excellent but not highly gifted person, had become Lord Privy Seal; and his past sufferings having gained the royal confidence, he was accordingly deputed to the Duke "with some

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 685.

<sup>2</sup> Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. i. p. 58. Lord Arundell of Wardour to Ormonde, February 1684.

plausible discourse concerning religion.”<sup>1</sup> Arundell would probably have been happier discussing feats of arms, or hawks and hounds with his old comrade, and may even have been slightly embarrassed at being suddenly turned into a theologian. At any rate, James’s ambassador showed a less notable perseverance in controversy than his principal, for “being disconcerted by a dexterous turn given to it by His Grace, the discourse ended before it had well begun.”<sup>2</sup>

Considering the exiguity of the King’s outlook, in these circumstances, it is to his credit that he did not deprive Ormonde of the White Staff, in spite of the many exhortations and persuasions to that end addressed to him. Indeed, it should be accounted unto James for righteousness that to such entreaties he invariably replied “that as His Grace had distinguished himself from others by his long and faithful service to the Crown, so he would distinguish him from others by his indulgence.”<sup>3</sup>

The atmosphere being so highly charged with militant theology, it was not unnatural that others besides Lord Arundell should covet the glory of reconciling the most illustrious of Irish Protestants to the Church of Rome, though it is somewhat surprising to find Father Peter Walsh joining in the quest. During the forty years he had known the Duke, the good Father had never touched on controversial subjects with Ormonde, yet now he felt himself constrained to assure the latter that although there were abundance of abuses in his Church, it was the safest to die in! Open abjuration, he continued, was only required of ecclesiastics. If a layman “did but embrace the faith in his heart, it sufficed”—a proposition savouring rather too much of Jesuitry to be consistent with Walsh’s creed. Ormonde seems to have been rather diverted than impressed by this sudden missionary fervour on Walsh’s part. There was a distinct tinge of amusement in his query as to the reason

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., O.S., vol. i. p. 58. Lord Arundell of Wardour to Ormonde, February 1684.

<sup>2</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 685.

<sup>3</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>4</sup> *Idem.*

so old a friend had not earlier admonished him of the risk he incurred. And he turned the tables on Walsh, by remarking that if he had been bred a Catholic and had lacked the opportunity of acquainting himself with Romish errors, being thus "invincibly ignorant," he might still have hoped well of his final end. But, "since he knew their errors, he could never embrace what he saw cause to condemn." So far, this was the stereotyped answer in similar discussions. Yet, having delivered himself of it, perhaps Ormonde's heart reproached him for treating an ancient friend to commonplaces, worthy of Father Petre. For he concluded with an utterance which, though to-day the veriest of platitudes, was then so unusual that it must be regarded as Ormonde's esoteric creed—that creed which all thinking beings equally cherish and conceal.<sup>1</sup>

"He took notice," he said, "that in Scripture, when the Day of Judgement is set forth, Christ does not interrogate about the *manner* of believing, but about a man's works; for the words are: 'I was hungry and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in;' there is no mention of Faith, but of Charity, and yet these were the Righteous that should goe into Life Eternal."<sup>2</sup>

Despite his latter-day compromises, Peter Walsh, like James Butler, had the root of the matter in him. He could appreciate, more than probably, he shared, Ormonde's bedrock creed, and henceforward he renounced all pretence of proselytism. A few months later, Walsh was lying on his deathbed. Ormonde had been his constant protector. The roof over his head, the little stipend which he enjoyed in virtue of his office of Seneschal to the Bishop of Winchester, were due to the Duke's care. On his side, in the past, Walsh had done battle valiantly for Ormonde's fair fame. Nor had the relations of the two men been merely those of patron and client. A stronger link—the link of friendship—had

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. lxix, p. 78. Southwell's Memorandum.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem.*

united the learned Franciscan and the statesman Duke. At the last, Walsh could therefore confidently commend to Ormonde's generosity the two objects<sup>1</sup> he had most at heart—objects connected with that country of his birth, which he had loved too fervently for his own welfare. The one petition regarded a nephew burdened with a large family at Clogherinske, in far away Catherlogh. The other request has undoubtedly a strange air, when we remember that it was preferred to a Protestant landlord, though it was certainly not the first anomaly in which Ormonde and Peter Walsh had been concerned. "As an indelible crown of all the obligations" received of him, the friar conjured Ormonde *in visceribus Christi*, to grant the convent at Kilkenny, where Peter Walsh himself had "lived as son and superior, to the Poor Fryers of his order."<sup>1</sup>

Walsh's letter was not, however, merely indited with a view to procuring donations for his kindred and his order. He could not bring himself to leave this world without bidding Ormonde a last farewell, without "heaping blessings on you and yours, and assuring Your Grace I am to the last Your most obedient and devoted servant." Moreover, there was a further intimation he wished to convey, one that it requires no great stretch of fancy to read between the lines of the message, the expression of the dying man's conviction that, in truth, all was well with Ormonde. "I hope," he says, "the Remunerator of all good works will largely reward you with a full and condign reward." More implicit he could not be. Only *in articulo mortis* had the author of the "History of the Remonstrance" obtained the absolution of his Church, and now it was the Nuncio's chaplain who sat writing by his bedside at his dictation. Yet bearing in mind Ormonde's exposition of "the one thing needful," the friar's words may well have been a response and a token that in his soul of souls, he, Peter Walsh, also recalled the benediction on the merciful, and that he rejoiced and was glad.

<sup>1</sup> Carte MSS., vol. cxviii. f. 357. Peter Walsh to Ormonde.

The Duke's defence of the Charter House Constitution was the last public action of importance in which he took a leading part. During the spring of 1687 he was invalidated by a severe attack of gout, and when he moved to Badminton, with the intention of joining the King's summer progress, he again fell ill. Both coming and going from Chester James paid him a visit, giving him leave to absent himself more frequently from the Court. Indeed, with the best will in the world, the Lord Steward now found it impossible to be regularly in waiting. The stairs at Windsor, he said, "frightened him from going there."<sup>1</sup> Most of his contemporaries would have put up the staff to auction, but since it had come to him as a free gift from Charles II. the Duke was too scrupulous to make money in that manner.

In 1686 a son and heir was born to Lord Ossory. It was an event of no little importance to the Duke, and his joy found a touching expression in the prayer which he composed on this occasion, offering thanks to God for having given him "the blessing of a great-grandchild to bear my name, and to possess after me what I and my forefathers have received from Thy bounty." It is pleasant also to note that so tender and intimate were the relations between Ormonde and Lady Ossory that he never seems to have given a thought to the trouble entailed on him by "nurses and cradles." Indeed, when the young wife made it a particular request that he would see her through her troubles, he immediately assented, telling Southwell, "I cannot refuse her anything I think she wishes, if the thing be in my power."

After a month spent in bed at Badminton, Ormonde, though still too crippled to walk, had himself carried to Kingston Lacy. The downward descent from the field to the garden, and from the garden to the window, had been more rapid than the original strength of his constitution had led his friends to anticipate. In fact, all through the winter he surveyed what was left to him of the world rather from his bed than from his window. Happily the

<sup>1</sup> Ormonde MSS., vol. ii. p. 307. Ormonde to Southwell, 14th July 1687.

sorting and arranging of his papers provided him with an engrossing occupation ; and at this stage, Lord Clarendon himself could not have found fault with his old friend for neglect of the memorials of his past career.

The spring did not restore Ormonde to health ; and in March he became so ill that his attendants almost despaired of his life, though, with the help of quinine, he rallied not only from the actual fever, but from the cupping and blistering to which he had been subjected.<sup>1</sup> In April he was sufficiently recovered to enjoy a visit from Sir Robert Southwell, then engaged on the Duke's biography, and to discuss this work with his chronicler. Nor was their conversation confined to past happenings, current events having entered on too acute a phase to be excluded from their survey. Old age, which so often warps a man's outlook, had abated nothing of Ormonde's tolerance and sense of proportion. He acknowledged the gross injustice committed in depriving the Popish lords of their hereditary rights. But he confessed that he "felt the danger of dispensing with the Penal Laws was now become so visible, that he could not see how any man could, in good conscience, be absent from the House whenever that came to the question." The bitterness of such an admission can only be gauged when we remember that Ormonde could say of himself that he had ever been "not only zealous to serve the Crown, but to please the prince."

The fret and turmoil of life was, however, well-nigh over for Ormonde ; and this conversation with Southwell is his last recorded utterance on those subjects which had filled the foreground of his existence during half a century. It was on July the 21st, 1688, that the end came. On awaking that morning, he reminded James Clark, the same who eighteen years previously had helped to rescue his master from Blood's hands, that it was a sad anniversary, "the most melancholy day I ever passed in my life ; it was the day I lost my dear wife."<sup>2</sup> Yet, even then, when the sands of life were running out, he could not bring

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 688.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, p. 689.

himself to distress his faithful servants by dwelling on sad topics, and changing the conversation, he talked on indifferent matters, taking an unaffected pleasure in seeing the baby Lord Thurles playing about his room. He himself, however, knew that his call had come, and although early that morning he had arranged to receive the Sacrament on the following day, as the hours wore slowly by, he would suffer no further delay. Towards evening, the Chaplain was accordingly summoned and administered the Holy Communion to him in his bedchamber. His dear Lady Ossory and her husband shared in the last rites. And it is characteristic of the man, who had never lived unto himself, that neither did he die alone. "Not a servant was absent on this solemn occasion."

After the office was over, saying he felt no pain, "only a great decay within him," he spent a full hour talking to his household, bidding them farewell, and expressing his regret that he could not make provision for them in any other way than by commanding them to his successor. Then, "being a little spent," he dismissed them, and asked his two gentlemen to help him to lie down. They obeyed. In the very act of being assisted to an easy position, his hand suddenly dropped. He was dead.

"He made no struggling, nor made the least groan; but went out like a lamp, enjoying in this his last moment what he had ever prayed for<sup>1</sup>—'that he might not outlive his intellects.'"<sup>2</sup>

Truly, if life had been one long battle, death had come gently to Ormonde. Nor was he less happy in the hour, than in the manner of his going. Only three months intervened between the tender pieties of that summer evening and the landing of William at Torbay—the inauguration of a new world. That, in essentials, ruler and rule were more in accordance with Ormonde's ideals,

<sup>1</sup> Carte, vol. iv. p. 690.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription still marks the spot on the floor of the room—now the dining-room—at Kingston Lacy where Ormonde's bed stood and in which he breathed his last.

would not have reconciled him to the violent severance with the old dynasty. Deeply as he deplored, and even condemned, James's policy, it was without recall that Ormonde had given his allegiance to the last of the Stuart kings. Already, in fact, anticipating the coming storm, the gallant old man had asked James's permission to be at his side, should the invader set foot on English soil. Had his grandfather been alive when the Prince of Orange landed, Lord Ossory could scarcely have thrown in his lot with William III. To Ormonde it would have been more bitter than death that his heir should break with the traditions of his whole life.

To the superficial critic of our generation, loyalty such as Ormonde's may seem incomprehensible and overstrained, perhaps even mischievous. But we should remember that if to-day Patriotism is the beacon-light of our age, its flame was kindled by the selfless devotion men like Ormonde gave to the King, who stood to them as the incarnation of all that we hold dear in the name of country. What that devotion cost, the story of Ormonde's life is there to show. It was not lived in vain. For much done, for yet more averted, the lovers of England's fair fame in the past must thank James Butler. That the greater portion of his patient and unresting toil perished within a few years of his departure from Ireland, cannot affect his ultimate renown. Rather is it his peculiar glory to have identified his governance with the brief, the sole golden age, which in the coming, the tragical years, that sad land could recall. Consummate talents did not help Ormonde to this achievement. He was no heaven born genius. In mere cleverness he was surpassed by more than one contemporary. Ormonde's incomparable force lay in his character—character which is merely another word for that supreme distinction begotten of "the Stern Daughter of the Voice of God," which furnishes an infallible touchstone of good and evil, a sure talisman against unworthy influences. In truth, one life ruled by its laws is worth a whole school of ethics. Such a man's works may not follow him. But the ensample he gives,

the standard he sets, the thoughts he inspires are gifts imperishable to his race. So may we claim it is with Ormonde. And if to-day he has his wish, and "lies well in the Chronicle," it is no less well for our land than for that brave and noble spirit that was James Butler, Duke of Ormonde.

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PRINTED AT THE EDINBURGH PRESS  
9 AND 11 YOUNG STREET









